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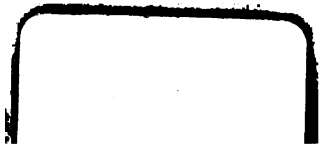

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MEMORIALS

OF

THE CIVIL WAR:

COMPRISING

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF THE FAIRFAX FAMILY
WITH THE MOST DISTINGUISHED PERSONAGES ENGAGED IN THAT MEMORABLE CONTEST.

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.

EDITED BY

ROBERT BELL,

AUTHOR OF THE "HISTORY OF RUSSIA," "LIFE OF CANNING," ETC.

FORMING THE CONCLUDING VOLUMES OF

THE FAIRFAX CORRESPONDENCE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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INTRODUCTION.

THESE volumes embrace the period of the Civil War and the Restoration, and contain a mass of Original Letters from nearly all the famous men who were actively engaged in the struggle,—the Fairfaxes, Cromwell, Fleetwood, David Leslie, Hugh Peters, Hammond, Hutchinson, Buckingham, and many others. Crowded with minute details and individual experiences, they bring us closer to the actual vicissitudes of the flying campaigns—from the hoisting of the Royal Standard at Nottingham, to the imprisonment of the King at Carisbrook,—than any previous publication. Written for the most part on the instant, under the walls of besieged towns, in the committee rooms of the House of Commons, on the field of battle, or in the midst of councils of war, they are distinguished by a freshness and freedom seldom found in documents of a more formal and elaborate character. In some cases—such as Rushworth's account of the forcible entry of the

London Apprentices into the House of Commons—these letters afford circumstantial relations of particular facts which have not hitherto been so completely described; and in other instances they reveal secret opinions and feelings which exercised an important influence upon the conduct of public men. Fairfax's share in the Restoration is here, for the first time, disclosed in full. The Correspondence also incidentally illustrates the Personal History and Social Life of the times.

The Volumes are enriched by the addition of many unpublished letters bearing upon contemporary events, from a valuable collection in the possession of Mr. Bentley.

In preparing the whole for publication, I have confined myself to the duty of elucidating obscure passages, and supplying such links of History and Biography as appeared essential to a distinct exhibition of the events and persons referred to in the Correspondence. I have endeavoured to avoid all superfluous matter, and have specially forborne to encumber the work with notes and authorities. To reduce the materials placed in my hands to a clear and intelligible arrangement has been my chief aim, as I believe it to be the legitimate limit of the editorial province.

ROBERT BELL.

April, 1849.

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1642—43.

THE KING'S RETREAT TO THE NORTH.

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THE ROYAL STANDARD SET UP.

THE FIRST HOSTILITIES.

TREASON OF THE HOTHAMS.

WINCEBY FIGHT.

1642—43.

THE departure of his Majesty from Whitehall, on the 10th of January, was the first incident of the drama which soon afterwards filled the stage with the thunder of drums and trumpets. It is tolerably clear that Charles had a presentiment that he should never return, or return to his doom. After thanking the captain of the Trained Bands for his attendance, he added—"I do now dismiss you;" and with these words he set out for Hampton Court. He was secretly devoured by want of confidence in himself and in everybody about him; but he had that purple pride which is ashamed to own to its humanity. The fear that was in his thoughts is plainly marked out in his vibrations between Windsor and Hampton, and in his broken route onwards to the north; skirting and avoiding London, and flying farther and farther from it at every step. In this northern journey he was plunging deeper and deeper into the hot-bed of Puritanism; the country of the Fairfaxes, the De Veres and their allies; yet he still contrived to keep up that brave exterior which looks down contemptuously upon argument and negociation. He trampled reason and justice under

the hoofs of divine right. The sovereign will was paramount to all claims, sufferings and necessities. That alone appeared to him proper to assert and struggle for. The committee which intercepted him with prayers and entreaties at Newmarket to return to his Parliament, had an opportunity of tasting the full flavour of his imperial temper. Great as was his real trouble at this time, he put a face of royalty upon it that might have perplexed and shaken men of feebler penetration and resolution. But in playing out to the last this part of "every inch a king," he played it so coarsely as to betray the agitation his bluster and bravado were intended to conceal. There was a pitiable want of self-possession and dignity in interrupting the reading of the declaration by such unkingly exclamations as "*That's false!*" "*'Tis a lie!*" and in telling the Earl of Pembroke that he "*would whip a boy in Westminster School,*" who had as little understanding as the committee. People in a great fright, when put to a sudden extremity, often burst out into this sort of topping insolence—in reality, a nervous escape for terror. But it was not the language by which a king, in such a crisis, could have done justice to himself or his people. Under the improved relations which have grown up in our time between kings and subjects, this interview with the Parliamentary Committee is scarcely credible. The Parliament implore his Majesty to return to them, and to reassure their loyalty and the public confidence by the resumption of his legitimate place and functions; and he replies

to them by abrupt and violent expressions, charging them with lies, and telling them in round terms that they ought to be whipped. When negociation had degenerated into outrage, it was full time to try other methods of bringing their differences to a settlement.

It was upon this journey his Majesty shipped off the Queen for Holland. She embarked at Dover. The King is said to have exhibited considerable emotion at parting. Here was the presentiment again. It shows, also, how strangely the most obdurate natures preserve, amidst their hardness and bigotries, some point of tenderness or weakness. But the world would have a greater reliance upon this saving grace, if it were not generally found to be resolvable into selfishness.

The embarkation is referred to in the following letter, the writer of which, oblivious of the actual substance of his own communication, indulges a hope that public affairs are at last on the way to adjustment. They were never so much out of the way as at that moment. Mr. Browne, who writes this, appears to have been better qualified to pronounce upon canary wines and mulberry trees, than upon the open questions which were convulsing the kingdom from end to end under his eyes. His facts turn his hopes to dust. That remarkable unanimity of the two Houses of which he speaks, and the extensive changes so suddenly carried out in all offices of trust and authority, might have suggested to him that matters were not so near adjustment as he imagined.

CHRISTOPHER BROWNE TO HIS SON.

I HAVE received yours of the 4th, and that also of the 11th February, together with the copy of your bills and letter to Sir Edward Nicholas, who at this time is absent with the King, either at Canterbury or Dover, his Majesty accompanying the Queen so far on towards her intended journey for Holland. Mr. Ondart is now thence also, with Sir Edward, and Mr. Beare left for dispatch of business here. At his Majesty's return, which is expected will be within a few days, I shall attend Mr. Ondart, for an answer of your letter, and in the mean time will advise with my cousin Farrington and my cousin William, and resolve, (if we can,) upon some meet person to solicit your business both with the Commissioners and at the receipt. The last time we had speech thereof, we could not think upon any one more fit than our cousin Tuke.

There is great hope now conceived of a speedy settlement of our so long disturbed affairs; for his Majesty having lately cast himself into the arms of his Parliament, both Houses concur so unanimously, that they now dispatch more business in one day than formerly they could in a month's time; for they have already either discarded or changed all the lieutenants of the several counties both of England and Wales, and there is an universal change and alteration daily expected in the face, I mean the exterior part, both of Church, Court, and country, by removing, placing, and displacing not only our great officers, but some inferior also. Amongst the rest, I presume you will no less wonder than you do wish it, when you shall hear that Sir H. Vane is restored to his Treasurership. In the mean time, I hear

that the Earl of Stamford is already designed Mr. Jermyn's successor in his government of Jersey.

Yesterday, after many journeys to speak with Sir David Carleton, I happened to meet him in Westminster Hall, for he hath now no house in town. He tells me that he is accountable to you for —— by him received. As for those other gratuities of money, wine, and fish, he was that day come to town to inquire after them, but doubts (as the times now are) they will fall very short of what came in formerly. I then saluted George Carleton also, lately come out of Ireland with his wife and family; he commends him kindly to you.

My cousin William will take order forthwith to furnish a tierce of good wine for Mr. Edisbury; and if you desire any Canary wine, I have now a quarter cask of that which is good, and at a reasonable rate, which upon notice may be sent unto you.

I am glad to hear that little Dick is so refined *à la mode*, and become so stout a horseman. Upon notice that he dares shoot off a gun, I will send him a brass cannon. In the mean time, I long to know how he hath borne himself in this time of your carnivals, and with what countenance he hath entertained those strange disguises. I doubt not but Moll hath adventured to dance with the ugliest vizards in the troop. I pray God bless them, &c.

Your loving father,

CHR. BROWNE.

London, 17th February, 1641, [*N.S.* 1642].*

* The new style will be found thus distinguished from the old throughout these volumes. According to the old style, the legal year terminated on the 24th March—according to the new, on the 31st December. The change was not introduced into England till 1751, when the 1st January 1751 was brevetted 1752; but as the Gregorian Calendar had been adopted upwards of a century

Mr. Christopher Browne comes out to greater advantage in his domestic correspondence, which, although of no public or historical importance, may be admitted into a friendly parenthesis amongst the Fairfax papers. He seems to have had some connection with Algernon Sidney, and to have been a lover of gardening and cheerfulness. His June letter is crammed full of roses and strawberries, and other seasonable things.

CHRISTOPHER BROWNE TO HIS SON.

YESTERNIGHT I received yours of the 20th March; and am sorry our hopes of success in the overture I lately mentioned to you are become frustrate: the party himself is gone to play his own game, rather than trouble another to hold his cards. The particulars import not much, and at this time somewhat out of the way to relate, for me, who hasten to tell you that the place I have chosen for those seeds is safe enough from any injury of the ashen roots, or shade of their boughs,—voted to be so also by Sir William Russell's gardener, who wishes you had likewise sent, or yet would send, some cypress seeds; it will not be too late, he tells me, any time this month. Touching the digging of the old orchard, I doubt we shall hardly find a customer to undertake it for the benefit he may hope to reap thereby, the season of the year being now past for early peas; but we will try

and a half before by most of the countries of Europe, some confusion is unavoidably apparent in the dates of documents during the interval. This confusion, however, attaches only to the first three months of each year, and the reader will be enabled to reconcile all discrepancies by the help of the addition, within brackets, (as on the preceding page) of the date according to the new style.

what will be resolved upon the question. John and Lewes have already digged the mount, and planted it with beans and peas, &c., and are to be sharers in the benefit.

If my daughter shall approve thereof, she is provided of a gentlewoman, recommended by my cousin Muffats, the same I think mentioned to her at her departure hence, (reported to be extraordinarily qualified towards performance of more than is required, be it in the kitchen, larder, buttery, any office,) only her ambition is to sit at table the first course, and then to rise and attend my daughter's commands. That which above all pleases me (if I may believe Dr. Valentine), is a well-tempered cheerfulness, both in her discourse and deportment every way. I am also solicited to move for Mrs. Cooper, both by her own and her mother's earnest desires: the particulars I refer to her own letters, here inclosed.

I am sorry we can as yet give no better account to Sir W. B., touching payment of the 60*l.*, the late bill of 200*l.* still hanging upon our hands. Nevertheless, you may assure him that by the next money we can in these difficult times procure it shall be discharged, with consideration also to the party for his forbearance.

My cousin William and Mr. Baker are now here, to spend some time with me, finding the country air more agreeable than the city, especially at this time of little or no trading. And I hear also that Mr. Santhill, if he be not come to Paris already, will very shortly visit you there. I dare now promise that by the next ordinary you shall receive a particular account from my cousin William: he is this day gone to London, and to-morrow will return with the books and papers of his accounts, which, once perfected, you shall hear from him,—desiring in the meantime to be excused, his

many businesses at present not permitting him leisure. Both he and Mr. Baker (whose wife and family are removed to Lee, in Essex,) heartily salute you and my daughter; and myself, recommending you both, with little Dick and Moll, to God Almighty's gracious blessing, I conclude, and rest

Your loving father,

CHR. BROWNE.

Deptford, 16th March, 1641, [*N.S.* 1642].

CHRISTOPHER BROWNE TO HIS DAUGHTER.

DEARLY BELOVED DAUGHTER,

BY those I have received from William Bush, and those likewise from my son, I understand that he hath lately taken a journey, which I hope neither for the length of the way, nor time of negotiation, will cause his long absence from you. In the meanwhile, trusting in God's all-sufficient providence, I pray be cheerful. My cousin Farrington will take care for your supply, and hath already added to his former engagements this last bill of exchange for 100*l.* to Mr. Gyttings. Mr. Bartier hath discharged the 100*l.* bill, charged from thence by Mr. Algernon Sidney. And though neither the Court or Chequer hitherto yield any drops, the clouds (thanks be to God!) have been more propitiously bounteous in bestowing a new livery upon the Broomefield, and Gammer West is now at last dropped out of the clouds also, and by the assistance of Daniel, her associate, hath not only fringed the skirts of the gravel walks with pinks and violets, but embroidered also the borders with varieties of herbs and flowers. Only the two mulberry trees and great walnuts languish, I fear, past hope of recovery, though no means of

refreshment hath been wanting towards their preservation. Our damask roses also have been much blasted with the easterly winds; the red have escaped better. My cousin Farrington and Mrs. Edisbury have tasted of our strawberries; Mrs. Valentine's turn is next. As for raspberries we are like to have great store; and sugar being so abundantly cheap at this time, our chief want will be of a skilful preserver, unless it shall please God (which I heartily desire of him) to restore my cousin Farrington timely enough to her strength, much weakened at present by a hard bargain, though, thanks be to God, well delivered of a pretty, lively boy, last Friday morning.

Your tokens to Mrs. Edisbury were delivered to her mother, sealed up. Those, &c.,

Your loving father,

CHR. BROWNE.*

London, 16th June, 1642.

Since this letter came I received one from my brother Will, that my sister is very dangerously taken. I pray God send us better news from them.

The royal progress into the North awakened the suspicions of Parliament. There was a great magazine at Hull, which they desired to transport to the Tower, and, failing that, to prevent it, at all events, from falling into the hands of the King. For that purpose, they appointed Sir John Hotham governor of Hull, and ordered a party of the Trained Bands of Yorkshire into the town. The absolute necessity of the measure was

* These letters of Mr. Browne's are from Mr. Bentley's Collection.

shown in the sequel. The King, being still at York, appeared before Hull at the head of upwards of three hundred horse, and demanded admittance. The governor refused to open the gates, unless his Majesty consented to dismiss his troops, and enter with only twelve followers. This was the first time his Majesty met with a flat resistance. Hitherto we have had only evasions and state-paper formalities; but here the matter was stripped of sophistries and ceremonials, and reduced to a sword's point. The negociations between the governor and the King lasted from eleven o'clock in the morning until five o'clock in the evening, when poor royalty, finding all threats and persuasions fail, took refuge in the arms of two heralds, who on the spot proclaimed Sir John Hotham a traitor. This was all the satisfaction his Majesty got; for Parliament amply vindicated Sir John, and declared that the proclamation denouncing him as a traitor was itself a treason against Parliament, and a violation of law. The Beverly Gate, at which this memorable conference took place, may be set down as the opening scene of the tragic play of the Civil War. As the play advances, it is rather a solemn diversion of the interest to find this very Parliament, which had thus protected and applauded the patriotism of Sir John Hotham, compelled to put him and his son to death for betraying their trust in this same governorship of Hull.

Upon the Beverly Gate failure followed the attempt to seduce the gentry of York. Charles, cleverly enough,

took advantage of the hostile reception at Hull to make out a case for a body-guard. "You see," says he, "that my magazine is about to be taken from me;" and so it was necessary that the gentry should take a new oath of allegiance to protect his person, and disavow the separate authority of Parliament. Sir Thomas Fairfax, who was at York at the time, thus writes home to his father an account of the proceeding :—

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY HONOURED FATHER, THE LORD FAIRFAX.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

WHEN I received your letters, I thought it would concern the committee as well as yourself, being directed with such haste; therefore before I sent them to you I made bold to carry the packet to them. The King's journey into Lincolnshire is stayed yet for ten days by the advice of my Lord of Bath. His intent of going thither was to have seen if that country would have accepted my Lord Lindsey for their Lord-Lieutenant. My Lord Clare dislikes their proceedings here, and will hasten away as soon as he can. Of Saturday the King made two propositions to the Lords:—first, if they would defend his person, and raise him some horse; secondly, whether they would obey an ordinance without his assent. They all promised to secure his person; but many of the lords desired to engage themselves further, and that they would observe those ordinances of Parliament which should be for his Majesty's honour and the safety of the kingdom. Those that went this way were Marquis Hertford, Marquis Hamilton, Earl of Salisbury, Earl of Clare, Lord Paulet, and

some others. My Lady Westmoreland will be at Appleton to-morrow at night, and stay two nights there. Her chief intention of coming was to see her sister, and for that time it will not be much chargeable. My wife presents her humble duty to your lordship, and had sent this day to have seen your lordship, but that she understands how you are by those which came from Denton. So, humbly desiring your lordship's blessing on us all, and praying for your health, I rest,

Your lordship's most humble and obedient son,

THO. FAIRFAX.

York, June 13th, 1642.

The Lord Lindsey alluded to in this letter was soon afterwards appointed general of the King's forces,—a brief honour, being killed in the following October at the battle of Edgehill. He brought large supplies to the King's army, and possessed such influence in Lincolnshire, (which explains his Majesty's anxiety to establish him in the Lord-Lieutenancy,) that several of the companies of his own regiment were commanded by Lincolnshire gentlemen, who volunteered into the service to oblige him. Lindsey was brave to rashness, and haughty and zealous in his devotion to the Sovereign. His pride was unable to endure the distinction shown to Prince Rupert, who, as general of the horse, was specially exempt from all orders except such as were delivered expressly by the King himself. Lindsey, hurt at this exception, which compromised his position, declared to his friends, that when the day of battle came

he would die at the head of his regiment. And he kept his word.

The oath tendered to the noblemen at York was in these words:—

I, A. B., swear before the Almighty and ever living God that I will bear a true and faithful allegiance to my true and undoubted Sovereign Lord King Charles, who is lawful King of this island, and all other his kingdoms and dominions both by sea and land, by the laws of God and man, and by lawful succession; and that I will most constantly and cheerfully ever, to the uttermost hazard of my life and fortune, constantly oppose all seditions, rebellions, conspiracies, covenants, conjurations, and treasons whatsoever, against his royal dignity, crown, or person, raised or set up under what pretence or colour soever; and if it shall come veiled under pretence of religion, I hold it more abominable before God and man. And this oath I take voluntarily, in the true faith of a true Christian and loyal subject, without any equivocation or mental reservation whatsoever, and from which I do hold no power on earth can absolve me in any part.

The slight way in which Sir Thomas dismisses this business, may probably be ascribed to his conviction of the certainty of its failure. But it did not end exactly as he says. There was a diversity of answers returned to the demands of the King. A few went the whole way in compliance, and some the whole way in refusal. The greater part halted between. The individuals alluded to by Sir Thomas promised to defend the

King's person (as Hollis or Pym, had there been occasion, would have as readily done); but they also pledged themselves to defend the Protestant religion (which the King was never tired of professing) and the "lawful liberties of the subjects of England, and just privileges of his Majesty and both Houses of Parliament." Others plainly told him that the best advice they could give him was to hearken to the councils of his Parliament, who, they were assured, would be duly careful of his person and his honour; while the great body of the freeholders (more important at that juncture than the gentry themselves) protested against the entire proceeding.

It was clear from all this that Yorkshire was growing too hot for the King; and, although he continued to storm about his treatment at Hull, and to let Parliament know that he was determined to bring the traitor Hotham to justice, he resolved to get away from the neighbourhood as soon as he could. Having obtained a supply of arms and ammunition from Holland (where the Queen had been foolishly busying herself in procuring succour for him to tempt him on to his ruin), he issued his famous Commission of Array. This explicit movement terminated all doubt and irresolution. The King and the Parliament had now fairly put themselves upon the country. It was for the people to choose between the Array and the Militia.

The whole kingdom was thrown into confusion. The busy note of preparation was heard in all quarters.

The shadows of coming events fell broad and dark over the surface of the land. The perplexity of the people broke out in various shapes, and the universal incertitude penetrated even to the tribunals of justice. The Judges on the Bench sat in a state of solemn dubiety. A letter from Mr. Rushworth to Lord Fairfax touches upon the "signs of the times."

MR. RUSHWORTH TO LORD FAIRFAX.

LETTERS came this day of the certainty of the business about Bath and Wells in Somersetshire, where about 30,000 of the inhabitants in Somersetshire were in arms, and besieged Wells, and planted thirty pieces of cannon on the hill that commanded the town, where the Marquis Hertford, the Lord Paulet, and the Lord Seymour, and Lord Cottington, with 500 horse well armed, were quartered. They had four cart-loads of powder, match, and bullet from Bristol, and so continued in arms all night. Sir John Horn, Mr. Alexander Popham, Sir Edward Hungerford, and Mr. Ashe being there in person, and summoned the Marquis to come to them; but, in the night time, he and his horse all marched away, and so fled out of the county; so they are now gone to see if they can catch Sir John Stowell, Sir John Powlett, and Captain Digby, who commanded those forces under the Marquis, that hath slain and wounded divers of the Parliament side without provocation. The Parliament hath sent 300 horse to assist the foot in that county, who are generally for the Parliament.

Three troops of horse are sent to Portsmouth, and a regiment of foot sent to Banbury, to remove the Earl of

Northampton thence, who is there to catch seven pieces of ordnance of the Lord Brooks, with 600 horse, but the county begins to rise round about him. The Parliament hath received a petition from four Lords, and ten of the House of Commons, residing in Yorkshire, viz., the Lord Savile, Lord Falconbridge, and Sir William Savile, Mr. Henry Bellassis, &c., of such a nature as was never signed by members of Parliament, and voted to be an insolent petition and they must not go unpunished.

In Worcestershire, at the assizes, there was a grand jury of knights, &c., but none but one that was legally returned was admitted to serve. They concluded of a petition in dislike of the Parliament. Judge Henden forbore there to deliver his opinion according to the commands of Parliament touching the commission of array.

There is an intention and preparation to adjourn speedily. I see no signs of peace, our preparations come on so fast. I pray let your, &c.

The messengers of the Yorkshire petition are committed to the Black Rod not as bearers of this petition, but for dangerous words spoken by them, as is proved here against them.

The House is much contented with Sir Thomas Fairfax's noble carriage of Thursday last.

August, 1642.

Mr. Rushworth, the writer of this letter, was nearly related to the Fairfax family, and owes much of his celebrity, as an historical collector, to the advantages he derived from that connection. A barrister by profession, he abandoned the common law for state affairs, and

voluntarily devoted himself for several years to the task of taking down in short-hand the speeches and proceedings in Parliament. His industry in this pursuit is probably unparalleled, and the world is largely indebted to him for the results. He afterwards became assistant clerk to the Commons, and the House reposed such trust in him, as to employ him constantly in conveying messages and addresses between Parliament and the King, while his Majesty was at York, a distance of upwards of 150 miles, which Rushworth is said to have frequently ridden within the twenty-four hours. When Sir Thomas Fairfax became generalissimo, Mr. Rushworth was appointed his secretary. During the Commonwealth he acted upon a committee for the reformation of the law, and served in several Parliaments after the death of Cromwell. Yet, notwithstanding that he acquired the respect of all parties by the integrity of his character, and had ample opportunities of securing an independence, he lingered out the last six years of his life in the King's Bench prison, where he died in May, 1690. His fine business faculties became impaired at last, and his end was hastened by intemperance.

On the 22nd of August the King set up his standard at Nottingham. The war was now begun in real earnest. The details are matters of history with which all readers interested in the English annals are already familiar. We have here to do only with our own special celebrities, and with the progress of the war

in the north, as illustrated in the correspondence before us.

We have hitherto seen little of Lord Fairfax or his son in these transactions. The single exploit which indicated the temper and inclination of the family was the gallantry of young "Tom"—proud and fiery Tom—on Heyworth Moor. The military genius of the Fairfaxes slumbered at the fireside at Denton while the King bandied protocols with Parliament; but the case was altered when he issued the Commission of Array. The time was gone by for hesitation. It was no longer possible even to be neutral. Fairfax had special reason to stir himself. The Roundheads looked to him as the conservator of the zeal and enthusiasm of the north; and the Cavaliers, fearing his influence, resolved to put him out of the way. A plan was laid to seize his person, and convey him, on some flimsy pretext of disaffection, a prisoner to York; but, forewarned of the design, he armed his tenantry, took the field, and baffled his enemies. It was by such electric movements the King was defeated all throughout. Whichever way he turned, to fly or fight, he was stopped or anticipated. Whenever he planned a piece of treachery, he was caught in his own springe.

Lord Fairfax was immediately appointed to the command of the Parliamentary forces in the north. The urgency of the occasion may be seen in the hasty despatch of a letter addressed to the noblemen and gentlemen of Yorkshire by the Committee of Safety.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

We have received information that at a late meeting at Leeds divers worthy gentlemen and others, well affected inhabitants of Yorkshire, have declared themselves desirous to preserve the peace of that county, and to secure his Majesty's subjects from those violent oppressions executed upon their persons and estates by the Earl of Cumberland, the Lord Savile, and others, by pretence of the commission of array, and other commissions against law, and for that purpose have thought upon a noble person of your county, the Lord Fairfax, to command in chief over the forces of that shire, and that John Hotham, Esq., lately conferred much help and furtherance to this noble resolution by coming out of Hull with some forces, both horse and foot. Hereupon, we have received directions from both Houses of Parliament to signify unto you their approbation, and to give all encouragement and assistance in these proceedings, as conducing much to that great work which the Parliament hath undertaken to secure—religion and the liberty and peace of the kingdom, which are much endangered by the ill council about his Majesty, and the war now raised against the Parliament; in pursuance whereof, we have thought good hereby to desire and authorize you to draw the forces of that county together under the conduct of the Lord Fairfax; and to defend his Majesty's subjects in their persons and liberties against the said Earl of Cumberland, or any other that shall oppress the same by pretence of any commission whatsoever. And for your better performance hereof, we intend to send down very speedily some experienced officers, with ample instructions in such manner as hath been given to other parties of the kingdom in the like case; and to commend the

Lord Fairfax to the Earl of Essex, intreating his Excellency to send him a commission to the same effect. And, in the meantime, we have sent this bearer of purpose to give you notice of the intention and order of the Lords and Commons in Parliament; and of our particular care to second our good affections and endeavours in this so necessary and advantageous a service of the kingdom, and so remain,

NORTHUMBERLAND.

H. VANE. THO. BARRINGTON.

HEN. MARTIN. JO. PYM.

Westmoreland, September 27th, 1642.
At 8 at night.

A few weeks afterwards, the same Committee, in the name of the Parliament, express their approbation of his lordship's proceedings, and send Mr. Rushworth upon a special mission to ascertain the actual state of his affairs and necessities.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, GENERAL OF THE FORCES IN YORKSHIRE, FOR THE PARLIAMENT.

MY LORD,

UNDERSTANDING, by your lordship's letter to Sir Christopher Wray and Captain Hatcher, that you are in the field with 500 foot, and are increasing daily in your forces for the service of the Parliament and kingdom, in the public cause which now they have in hand, it is so great contentment to us, and so desirous we are to encourage your lordship in your noble proceedings, that we have thought fit to assure you nothing shall be wanting on our part to second your lordship's endeavours in this cause with whatsoever lies

in our power; to which purpose we have despatched by this bearer, Mr. Rushworth, an express to you, that by him we may understand the truth of affairs with you, and your desires to us for the advance of the present service herein; in the meantime, we have thought fit by this messenger to send our orders to Mr. Hotham, and the two troops of horse come to him out of Lincolnshire, to observe such commands as they shall receive from your lordship; what further supplies you desire from us, when we shall understand the same from your lordship, we shall use all possible care to speed them to you. The good state of our affairs here, and of the army, we shall refer to the relation of this bearer, who will inform your lordship of all particulars and resolutions the Parliament have taken thereupon for the public good in these troublesome times. And so we rest,

Your very loving friends and servants,

T. Northumberland.	H. Vane.
L. N. Howard.	Holland.
Pembroke and Mont.	W. Pierrepont.
Warwick.	Gilb. Gerrard.

October 21*st*, 1642.

Lord Fairfax had been in the discharge of his duties upwards of two months (without waiting, it appears, for the formal authority of a commission), when he forwarded the following dispatch to the committee, giving an exact account of what had been done in the interval. This dispatch, with the exception of the most curious and important part of it, has been already printed by Rushworth, whose omission of the passage from "Thus, my lords, I have represented briefly the

condition of the army," to the end, is too remarkable not to justify the publication of the whole document. It would be idle to conjecture how it was that Rushworth came to drop out or lose this passage, unless we are to ascribe it to one of those suppressions of truth of which he is roundly accused by Nalson and others. Certain it is that the document was presented in its entirety to Parliament; for the Speaker's answer, which is here added, relates almost exclusively to the matters contained in the omitted passage.

It will be seen that Lord Fairfax makes a grave complaint of the distresses of the army, and warns the House of the power of the Royalists, by means of their numerous garrisons, to cut off the scattered troops should they be forced to go about the country to levy sustenance. Yet such are the greater difficulties of the Parliament, that the House is able to send only a moiety of the sum voted for the relief of the soldiers, and is compelled to authorise the general, in case of extreme necessity, to billet the soldiers on the county. What inadequate notions we can form, at this distance of time, of the small, harassing impediments against which the Parliament had to contend, and of the discretion and vigilance demanded in the least as in the greatest things, to enable them to conduct the struggle to its triumphant issue! By this single act of billetting the soldiers the cause was placed in imminent peril. Yet it was unavoidable. The Commission of Array was out over the county, and was already making head in several other places. The King had

garrisons ready for whatever might turn up, and was watching his opportunity for any sudden stroke of success that might determine in his favour those floating masses of opinion, which, at such times, are always found waiting on events; and here were the new, raw, incoherent bands of the Parliament army drifted loose amongst the farmers and shopkeepers to get house-room and nurture as they might, an easy prey to the first compact movement of their more disciplined opponents.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE COMMITTEE OF LORDS AND COMMONS FOR THE SAFETY OF THE KINGDOM.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIPS,

UPON Saturday last I received a declaration of Parliament, with a commission from his excellency the Earl of Essex, to command in chief over the forces of the North and other adjacent counties, which great honour and trust of far above my ambition or merit, by your lordships conferred upon me, I shall exercise with all care and fidelity, not doubting but that your lordships will enable me therein with such other supplies as the necessity of the service shall require, and that reported from hence.

The estate of the affairs in these parts since my last despatch of the first of this month, stands in this manner:—The Earl of Newcastle is come to York, and joined his forces to the Earl of Cumberland, making in all, as I am informed, about 8000 men, horse and foot, of which there is about 2000 horse and dragooners—a strength far too potent to be resisted by the small power which I have here, whereof I send

a list enclosed. Our strength was once estimated by ourselves far greater than now it appears; for, upon the Earl of Newcastle coming over the Tees, Sir Edward Loftus with all the Richmondshire men, and Sir Henry Anderson with all the Cleveland men, and the rest of the North Riding, which were estimated at 1000 men, did all return to their own houses, save about 130 men, brought thither by Sir Matthew Boynton and some other gentlemen, and one troop of horse, raised by Sir Henry Fowlis, and about forty horse more, brought hither by Captain Anderson; and, besides this defect, our numbers are decreased by Sir Hugh Cholmeley: to whom I have sent divers orders to march northwards to join with Captain Hotham and the rest in resisting the Earl of Newcastle's entry, before he came into Yorkshire, and since his entry, to come to me and the rest of the army at Tadcaster; but he found such impediments as he could do neither, and now I hear he is gone to Scarborough, and taken his forces with him, which were about 700 men; and Colonel Boynton, whose regiment consisted of 800 foot, is likewise marched towards Hull, although I sent him divers orders to march up hither to assist the forces at Tadcaster, giving me neither reason of his not coming to me, nor of his march towards Hull. And I, understanding that Sir John Gell had raised 800 men in Derbyshire, sent unto him to march hither to our succour; but I have received an answer from him that he is not able yet to stir from thence; and from Sir Anthony Irby nor the Lincolnshire men I hear nothing, though I have sent to them express messengers. So our whole strength here, upon return of the forces formerly sent into the North, consisting of twenty-one companies of foot, and seven troops of horse, and one company of dragooners, we did send of

them two companies of foot to secure Selby, one company to secure Cawood Castle, and quartered the rest part of them at Wetherby, under command of Captain Hotham, whom I have nominated to be lieutenant-general of the army; and the rest at Tadcaster, under my own command. And upon Tuesday, receiving intelligence that the Earl of Newcastle, with his whole forces, intended to fall upon our quarter, at Tadcaster, I sent to Captain Hotham to bring up the forces at Wetherby, which being done, and the Earl of Newcastle's army come in sight, we drew our men into the uttermost part of our quarter, where we had raised some breast-works for our musketeers; and there the fight began, about eleven of the clock, and so continued, in sharp dispute, until about four of the clock in the evening, in which time there was at least 40,000 musket-shots discharged on both sides, and great numbers of cannon-shot.

The enemy had once won part of the town, and beaten out our soldiers, and placed some of their company in two or three houses, which did much endanger us; but in the end our men, with great courage, forced them out again, recovered and burnt the houses, and killed many of the enemy's men that were there placed, and, in conclusion, forced the whole army to retreat, leaving many of their men dead, and great numbers wounded. The certain numbers nor qualities of the persons we could not take; but it is generally said by the country people that there was at least 100 found killed and burnt; and we took seventeen prisoners in the fight. And on our part we lost six men, and Captain William Lister, a valliant and gallant gentleman, who was shot with a musket-bullet in the head; and we had about twenty more wounded; and lost not one prisoner in the battle, though divers of our men, being negligent in their duty, staid behind us when we quit the quarter,

and so were taken, the next morning, by the enemy, and made prisoners. In this fight our men behaved themselves with very great resolution,—far beyond expectation, insomuch as I conceive we might have maintained the place still, if we had been furnished with powder and shot; but having spent in a manner all our whole store of bullets, match, and powder, I advised with the commanders, and by general consent it was thought fit to rise with our forces and march to Cawood and Selby, to secure those places, and there receive supplies of ammunition and men, which was accordingly done. And now I am at Selby, with part of the army, and the rest with Captain Hotham, at Cawood. And yesterday I sent my son, Sir Thomas Fairfax, with five companies on foot and two troop of horse towards Leeds, intending he should continue there, to secure that place and the other clothing towns against the Earl of Newcastle's forces, if it were possible. But the enemy's forces were laid so strong in the way as he could not pass; so he only beat up a quarter of the enemy's in a small village, took five prisoners, and retreated to Selby.

Thus, my lords, I have represented briefly the condition of this army at present, and which, I must confess, I fear will very suddenly grow worse, if not utterly broken up, and that especially for want of money,—I having not above a week's pay provided beforehand, and no visible means left to raise maintenance for them, unless I should give the soldiers free quarters upon the country,—a cure, in my conception, as dangerous as the disease, and, peradventure, not possible to be effected, if the enemy be still master of the field, and cut off our men as they go about to levy sustenance, which they may do, and yet not able to beat up our quarters. I have hitherto supported this army by the loans and contributions, for the most part, of the parishes of Leeds, Halifax, and

Bradford, and some other small clothing towns adjacent, being the only well-affected people of the country, who, I much fear, may now suffer by this popish army of the North, merely for their good affection to the religion and public liberty. Out of the rest of the country I was not able to draw any considerable help, the enemy having garrisons in so many places, who threatened to ruin any that should assist the Parliament and the cause with money or other helps. My lords, in sum, the state of this country is thus: the enemy is mighty and master of the field, plentifully supplied from his majesty and the papists, and malignant parties, with money and all necessaries. The well-affected party, as now it is divided, not considerable, the aid from Lincolnshire, Derbyshire, and other counties very uncertain, the want of money here such as will force us to disband within ten days; and if the enemy once become absolute master of Yorkshire, they will force contributions and succours from the country, which will raise a very formidable army, and put the whole cause in peril, if God do not miraculously defend it. I beseech your lordships seriously to consider it, and send such speedy supplies of men and money as will enable me to go forward in the service, which I shall not fail to do with a constant fidelity. Your lordships have heretofore assigned 2000*l.* for our succour, but the most part of it is still at London, where it lieth for want of exchange or convoy. And therefore what shall now be sent must come either by sufficient convoy of forces by land, or else by sea to Hull, and so hither to me. The Scottish officers are now come hither yesterday, but now we are so straitened that we can have no men resort to us to put under command, nor have we money to pay them. The further relation of these affairs I shall leave to Captain Hatcher, who follows these letters, purposely

to give a true relation to the House of these affairs, and hath been an eye-witness of most of the passages in this country, from the first raising of arms: to whose further expression I shall leave it, with addition only, that if the country or cause suffer, your lordships will discern, by this relation, in whom the default hath been, and impute it accordingly; for nothing hath been omitted possible to be effected by your lordships' most faithful and humble servant,

F. Fairfax.

Selby, December 10th, 1642.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, GENERAL OF THE FORCES IN THE NORTH, THESE.

My Lord,

I am commanded by the House of Commons to give your lordship thanks for your care, vigilance, and activeness in opposing that Popish army commanded by the Earl of Newcastle, and, according to your lordship's desire, the House hath appointed 20,000*l.* for the payment of your army, whereof 10,000*l.* they intend to pay presently (though money at this time is very scant with them), and the other 10,000*l.* shall be prepared for you with all possible speed. They likewise approve of your lordship's billetting your soldiers on that county (upon the case of extreme necessity), and have engaged the public faith of the kingdom for the repayment thereof, as by the enclosed order, under the clerk's hand. You may perceive the committee for the northern parts are using all possible care and diligence to supply your lordship with arms; and the House is resolved likewise to hasten the supplies of foot and horse, to enforce your lordship's army, that so, by God's blessing upon all our endeavours,

G. Hanting, F.S.A. del. Jac. Bron

WILLIAM PENNINGTON.

Son of the Lord Mayor of London, and one of the Members for the City in the Long Parliament.

FROM THE ORIGINAL BY S. COOPER, FORMERLY IN THE COLLECTION

AT STRAWBERRY HILL.

that army of Papists may be suppressed before the total ruin of the country where now they are.

Your lordship's very loving friend,

WM. LENTHALL,

December 23rd, 1642. *Speaker.*

The Fairfaxes were now committed, life and fortune, to the cause. The eldest son, Sir Thomas, who had been knighted two years before in the Scotch war, was appointed General of the Horse under his father, who had already twice summoned home from foreign service his only remaining son, Charles, as appears from the following letter. The first summons, it seems, was not very peremptory. The second was decisive, unhappily for the son, who returned to England, joined his father's forces, and was killed at the battle of Marston Moor.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HIS LOVING FATHER, THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT HIS HOUSE IN YORK, OR ELSEWHERE, THESE HUMBLE PRESENTS.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

Two days ago I received your lordship's letter, dated from Denton, the 18th of August. I shall not seek now for leave to go over before I hear again from your lordship what I should do. Mr. Strickland who was sent by the Parliament over hath had audience of the States, but not openly, which was forbidden him by reason the Queen of England had spoke before to the States, that they would not hearken to his message; notwithstanding his coming doth very much good for the Parliament. Here is like to be much troubles in these parts, now a beginning and likely to increase,

if the distempers in England continue. The interest of these countries depends upon the welfare of England because of our religion and laws; it is much feared here that if the government in England be changed, these countries will also be debarred of their ancient customs. These States are jealous of the Prince of Orange, that by his means both ammunition and monies should have been sent to our King. The States hath lately arrested some ships which were going over for England with ammunition. My Lord Benerweart, Serjeant-Major General of our army, hath desired of every English company three men, which are granted him; there goes an English captain and a lieutenant with them to the King's army, but I think they will be stayed before they can be ready to go over, by the States, who will have notice of them. There is an ambassador come the other day to the Hague, out of England, from the King. To-day I hear the Prince's Leaguer is broken up, and is coming to garrison; some of the Queen of England's attendants have much offended by their uncivil behaviours; the principal of them is Mr. Garmaine, and they are taken notice of over all these lands. Commending my prayers to God for your lordship, I humbly take leave.

Your lordship's obedient son,

CHARLES FAIRFAX.

From Clineyard, this 8th of September, 1642.

I humbly intreat of your lordship send not over for me this winter; that your lordship please to give order to Mr. Nevell to send me some cloth for a suit of clothes this winter. When your lordship writes over to me, your lordship may direct the letter to Mr. Dolphin's house, in Dorte, at the sign of the Swan, by the Kiddikes port, which will be a better way than to Rotterdam, because it is nearer.

In the meanwhile the battle of Edgehill had taken place, and several skirmishes, with a most fluctuating fortune; and Sir Thomas, diligently executing his trust in the clothing districts, was already growing impatient to raise the country, but prudently delayed for orders from his father. The following letter is dated from the scene of his first action, Bradford, where, against more than double his numbers, and the advantages of the ground, he compelled the King's troops to draw off to Leeds:

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY HONOURED FATHER, THE LORD FAIRFAX.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

THESE parts grow very impatient of our delay in beating them out of Leeds and Wakefield, for by them all trade and provisions are stopped, so that the people in these clothing towns are not able to subsist, and, indeed, so pressing are these wants, as some have told me, if I would not stir with them, they must rise of necessity of themselves in a thing of so great importance. I thought it fit to acquaint you with it, to desire your lordship's advice, before I would undertake it; therefore humbly desire your lordship not to defer this business, but, if no aid can come to us, then to give us advice, and order what to do, for long this country cannot subsist; and to raise the country to assault the enemy, I would not do it, without your lordship's consent, being only commanded to defend the parts from them. I desire, with all speed, this bearer may bring us your lord-

ship's resolution. I am sure I shall have above six hundred muskets, if I summons the country to come in, besides 3000 and more with other weapons, that would rise with us. If your lordship please to give me power to join with the readiness of the people, I doubt not but, by God's assistance, to give your lordship a good account of what we do. So, humbly desiring your blessing, I will ever be

Your lordship's most obedient son,

THO. FAIRFAX.

Bradford, January 9th, 1642. [*N. S.* 1643.]

All circumstances considered, the letter is abundantly hopeful. Sir Thomas and his father had a serious responsibility placed upon them with grievously inadequate means. Their forces were numerically, and indeed in every other way, inferior to the royalists; the officers were inexperienced; the soldiers were ill paid, sometimes not paid at all; provisions and munitions were scarce; and there were traitors amongst their foremost men—the greatest calamity of all. On the other hand, the Royalists were well officered, liberally provided, better disciplined, and had with them the prestige and traditions of the kingly authority, "a tower of strength" in itself. This state of things accounts for the diffidence and incertitude of Sir Thomas's movements during this period. After the action at Bradford, he was joined by Captain Hotham with three troops of dragoons, and advancing upon Leeds, found that the enemy had evacuated the town at his approach. Some collisions subsequently took

place at Wetherby and Tadcaster, and towards the end of the month he took the town of Leeds, which was hotly disputed by Sir William Savile. The next letter is an acknowledgment of his father's approbation of his conduct on that occasion:

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY HONOURED FATHER, FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, AT SELBY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

THE good success it hath pleased God to give my weak endeavours hath only proceeded from his goodness, to whom I desire the honour may redound, and if your lordship hath received any satisfaction by it I am rewarded with what I desire. I am at Wakefield now, but I return this day to Leeds. I found here when I came great numbers of people in the town, who by Capt. Winge's good government and care, whom I had sent thither to keep the town, kept them from doing much hurt by pillaging. According to your lordship's order, Sir William Fairfax, of Steeton, stays there to command, and if it be well looked to, I believe 4000*l.* will easily be raised out of that town. Some of these forces I intend to send to Pomfret to quarter in the town, the Castle hath not above eighty men in it and it cannot annoy those in the town; the possessing ourselves of that place would open a free passage to Hull which would be a great benefit to these towns, and some terror to the enemy to see us go on; but I desire your lordship to excuse me that I do this without order from your lordship, but you may send them back again to-morrow if you please. If they lie there because they have no money, it will be good if your lordship think it

fit to allow the guides free billet, yet all plunder forbid. So very near, your lordship may make good use of them. Capt. Hotham intends to go to Doncaster this day. When he saw your lordship's order, he called for pen and ink to copy it out, it seemed by his peevish humour to have taken some advantage by it, but he did not. No order will be observed by him but what he please, unless some order be to restrain him; if he will be accountable for 6000*l.*, which I believe he may raise in those parts and bring it in to the public stock, as we shall give an account what we raise in our own quarters, he may be allowed to take the employment. If we could join all our forces, your lordship might resolve of some notable design, but Leeds, Wakefield, and other places doth so view our strength as we can do little; for this I shall attend your lordship's further order. I thank your lordship for thinking of sending Capt. Bladen to me. I have great need of one to assist me, having many things heavy upon me, and being grown within these few days more unhealthful than I was; if your lordship could send us more arms we could arm the country with them, for strangers being restrained of their will are very mutinous. I think to send the convoy which came from Selby back to-morrow. So humbly desiring your lordship's blessing, I rest

Your lordship's humble and most obedient son,

THO. FAIRFAX.

Wakefield, January 27th, 1642. [*N. S.* 1643.]

It is evident from the allusion to Captain Hotham that there was a discordance somewhere. Who should have suspected that treason, which the quick eye of Fairfax had already discerned, was growing up here. The Hothams, probably, thought that, after the business at

Hull, a trust of higher responsibility ought to have been reposed in them, and were unwilling to be placed under the command of others, especially this young Fairfax, who was now only in his thirty-first year. Lord Essex, the generalissimo, no doubt thinking these expectations reasonable, appointed Captain Hotham to the post of Lieutenant-general; a step which he may have afterwards looked back upon with some misgivings when he was himself superseded by the Parliament to make way for Sir Thomas Fairfax. This Lord Essex was the son of the favourite, and had joined the Parliament in a fit of resentment against the King, because his majesty refused to grant him the command of the forest of Medwood. The appointment of Captain Hotham is formally announced in a subsequent communication from Commissary Copley :—

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, GENERAL OF ALL THE FORCES, &c., IN THE NORTH PARTS, AT SELBY, THESE PRESENT.

My Lord,

I find myself no way deceived in my confidence of your lordship's zeal to promote the good of your country of which you are a great patriarch, and so God owns you by many earnests of his favour in giving you victories upon the common enemy, the last of which came to my hands by Mr. Copley and was right welcome to me, as also those assurances he gives me of a happy concordance betwixt your lordship, Sir John Hotham, and his son Captain Hotham, to

which purpose I have herewith inclosed sent you instructions to be observed by you all for the future regulating of business with you, to which I doubt not you will freely condescend, as being the only way under God to carry on your affairs to public advantage.

My lord, what I do herein is no way to lessen you, but to keep on our business in such a course as through God's blessing may make it prosper to further success, and give way for present to some things which might else bring on greater inconveniencies. As your lordship is wise in all things, so I must say you are truly noble in quitting private interests for public advantage; go on and the Lord will prosper you. My lord, I send you herewith also a list of names who I desire should constantly stand for a council of war with you; leaving to that council power to add more as occasion may require, and shall be voted by the major part of them. I do this in respect of the Lincolnshire forces, and those under my Lord Gray and others; who when they come will expect to be of the council of war. I have already written to the Lord Gray, and into Lincolnshire, to march into your county and to join with you, that whilst fear possesseth the enemy you may fall upon them at York, or wheresoever they now quarter, and if it be possible seize the convoy they expect should bring their money and ammunition from Newcastle.

My lord, as your hearty pursuit of the instructions I send will abundantly honour you in the opinion of all good men, so in particular will very much oblige me to remain,

Your lordship's faithful friend,

ESSEX.

Windsor, January 31*st*, 1642. [*N. S.* 1643.]

A LIST OF NEW OFFICERS OF HORSE AND FOOT.

HORSE.—Lord Fairfax, Major Butler, Colonel Windsor, Lord Brandon, Earl of Dalkeith, Earl of Warwick, Admiral of the Fleet.

FOOT.—Sir Richard Atkins, Sir Arthur Chichester, Colonel Clint, Colonel Edgworth, Colonel Fox, (attended the Commission who tried the King); Colonel Harrington, Colonel Pack, Colonel Hamilton, Colonel Freak, Trenchard, Norcoate, Lord Mountjoy, Blaney, (1646, taken prisoner by the Rebels in Ireland); Shelborn, Charlemont, Colonel Ross, Colonel Smith.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, LORD GENERAL OF THE NORTH, AT SELBY, YORKSHIRE, THESE PRESENT.

MY LORD,

I WAS commanded to intimate to your lordship that his Excellency forgot to express in his letter to your lordship his desire your lordship should give Captain Hotham a commission for lieutenant-general under your lordship, and that he hath written to Captain Hotham to accept it from your lordship, and go on with your lordship in a hearty compliance for the future. I perceive my lord General accounted himself much engaged to you, for that you was so willing to be bound by him. I represented the business as it truly stood, with several notes of every your expressions how far you was willing to subscribe if it came commended from him, out of which he hath caused the enclosed instructions to be made and sent, with a note of names for a council of war, who, though they are more in number, yet being Colonels, and men now deeply engaged in the country with

you, he thought they would expect it. My lord, I procured my lord to write to the men at Manchester, Sir William Brewerton and Sir John Gell, whose letter I have here enclosed, and do entreat your lordship would cause them to be sent, that they give your lordship assistance as soon as possibly they can, with their forces, as also my Lord Grey and those in Lincolnshire. My lord, if your lordship please to enjoin me any service here, I am

Your lordship's faithful kinsman and servant,

LIONEL COPLEY.

London, Feb. 1st, 1642. [*N. S.* 1643.]

It will be seen that the Earl of Essex praises the "zeal" of Lord Fairfax, but says nothing about his ability or the difficulties of his situation. It is plain enough that this acknowledgment of his "zeal" is only a courteous hint of want of confidence in his judgment, which he further testifies in a way that cannot be mistaken, by the appointment of a council of officers to assist him. If the Earl of Essex had really desired to break down the zeal he applauded so much, this was an excellent way to do it. A general, in circumstances so new and harassing, and laden with such heavy responsibility, requires, above all things, to be assured of the confidence and support of those who are placed in authority above him. But Fairfax, (who was otherwise by no means the fittest man for such a position) in addition to the discontents and inefficiency of an ill-paid and worse disciplined army, had also to fight against the consciousness that his difficulties were not properly appre-

ciated, while his power to cope with them was seriously crippled. The multitude of advisers had the effect of weakening the influence of the General, and producing disastrous divisions of opinion. Sir Thomas Fairfax himself, notwithstanding all his brilliant successes, had occasion to make the same complaint towards the close of the war. "My commission as General," he tells us, "obliged me to act with council; but the arbitrary and unlimited power of this council would act without a General: and all I could do was ineffectual to oppose them; especially when the Parliament itself became divided." *

That the Parliamentary Committee of Safety entertained a juster sense of Lord Fairfax's services, and entered more heartily into his circumstances, than the Earl of Essex, is evident from the following letters:

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, THESE.

My Lord,

We have been made acquainted by Mr. White, with a desire of your lordship's, to be resolved what companies your lordship shall pay out of the monies now sent down unto you. We conceive that the sense of the House is, that your lordship shall cause payment from time to time to be made unto all the companies and troops, both foot and horse, which are, or shall be under your command, as monies shall be supplied unto you. And that for the present out of the money now sent down, payment shall be made both to the

* A Short Memorial.

Lincolnshire troops, and also unto the Hull forces, which are actually in the service under your command; for it is conceived that it will be a very great occasion of discontent in your lordship's army, should not an equal hand be observed by way of payment.

Your lordship we hope needs not to doubt but that such a continued supply will be made by the Parliament. Care for your army, that (by God's assistance) your lordship will not hereafter be put to wrestle with such difficulties as have now been forced upon you. My lord, we acknowledge that the Commonwealth oweth much, not only to your lordship's valour and fidelity to the cause, but also, to that noble and prudent moderation which you have used to its advantage, in so gently handling those wounds which have been made amongst your forces. Your lordship may be ascertained by us that the House hath fixed a serious apprehension upon the particulars of your lordship's letter, and are and will be so tender of all things which may concern your lordship's house, that you must not fail of a just and seasonable satisfaction. This is all that we have to present to your lordship, save that we ever shall remain,

Your lordship's affectionate friends and servants.

My Lord,—I was appointed by Mr. Pierpoynt, Sir Philip Stapleton, Mr. Hampden, and Mr. Pym, to draw a letter to this effect to your lordship, and they would subscribe it. I showed it to Sir Philip, and Mr. Pym, who approved of it as their sense, but by reason the Commissary Copley came so suddenly away, I could not get them together to have their hands to it.

Your lordship's servant,

WILLIAM WHITE.

The Close Committee, February 1st.

FOR THE LORD FAIRFAX, LORD GENERAL OF THE NORTHERN FORCES.

My Lord,

The Houses of Parliament, since you have been employed by them, are very sensible of the great services your lordship hath done them, and by us do return thanks for the same. They understand, by your lordship's letter of the 2nd of this instant, to the Speaker of the House of Commons, the state of your army since your last encounter with the enemy; and they do much approve of your ingenuity in representing the same, and are applying all their powers to furnish you with moneys and arms, and will instantly send to the L.-General to make provision to furnish you with six or eight troops of horse. And that you may know how much your preservation is taken to heart, the House of Commons has this day taken order to provide the other 10,000*l.* promised you, one thousand whereof is this day put into the hands of Mr. White, and the rest shall be paid with all speed. We therefore continue our requests that your lordship will use your utmost care and vigilance to preserve those parts you are in, being so considerable, as it may be a means to secure Lancashire and Cheshire, and to regain the lost parts of Yorkshire and the rest of the northern counties. My lord, within a day or two you shall hear more particularly from us by an express. In the meantime we wish your lordship all success, and rest

Your lordship's very loving friends,
and humble servants,

Pembroke & Mont. Salisbury.
L. N. Howard. H. Vanys.
Gilbt. Gerrard. Hollande.
Jo. Pym.

April 13, 1643.

During the past year, up to this time, nothing remarkable had been done on either side. Skirmishes and battles with variable issue had hitherto produced no important results. All that can be gathered from the next batch of letters is, that the movements of the Parliamentary forces were rendered very irregular from want of proper co-operation, perhaps of insubordination; and that there was a possibility of the cause being sacrificed to the pretensions of inferior officers, who considered themselves qualified to judge what was best to be done in their own localities, without reference to unity of action or the general safety.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, GENERAL OF THE ARMY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I DO not know whether your lordship sent any order to stay the Lancashire companies, yet upon the intelligence from you of the enemy's return to Wakefield, I sent to intreat their stay yet awhile. This town is very weak by reason many are gone to defend Ambry, and those parts; but I hear Captain Ratliffe is revolted to the enemy, and most of his company, if not all the other company, being not strong enough, retired to Elam; there Captain Morgan, who hath raised some dragoons, joins with them for the defence of those parts this day; some of Peniston men came also to demand aid, their being seventeen colours in Barnesley, five miles of them. I advised them to seek help from Rotherham and Sheffield, and whilst they

stood upon their guards to get their goods to places of most safeguard, for it will be impossible without more horse to defend the country from spoil. I desire your lordship, if you can spare an engineer, to send one hither, having some works necessary to be done speedily. The enemy lies strong at Wakefield, but I shall have an eye on them, and doubt not but by God's assistance to keep this place safe. So humbly desiring your blessing, I remain,

Your lordship most obedient son,

THOMAS FAIRFAX.

Bradford, April 20th, 1643.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, GENERAL OF THE NORTHERN FORCES, THESE PRESENT.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I RECEIVED your letter, and do intend to fulfil your commands with all expedition. I am now marched up to Nottingham, and Colonel Cromwell's forces with me; here is Lord Gray come too, and this day we expect Sir John Gell; Sir William Brereton hath order to draw down to us, then we shall be strong. The Manchester forces have orders to draw down to you, and furnish you with what you want. I shall endeavour all I can to join with you, or otherwise to distress the enemy. Our misery is, we know not where his force lies, nor in what condition he is. I shall desire to have some information from you on that point, and I shall not fail to endeavour that which may be best for the public service, and will ever remain,

Your lordship's humble servant,

JOHN HOTHAM.

Nottingham, May 24th, 1643.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, GENERAL OF THE NORTHERN FORCES, THESE PRESENT AT LEEDS.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

WE were even ready to march with all the forces here to attend you, when we had certain intelligence of the state of my Lord Newcastle's army, so weak and in such a distraction, that we conceive it far unfit to force your lordship in your quarters. We had certain notice likewise that a good strength of horse and foot were marched from him to Newark, to face and attend the moving of the forces that are here. Upon Tuesday last there was towards forty troops of horse and dragooners appeared in a body some four miles from this place; and we hear behind them stood their foot. We drew out to fight them; but they had chosen such a ground as we could not come to them without great disadvantage. At night they drew away, and are still within six or seven miles hovering up and down the country. Until we see what these people intend, or which way my Lord Newcastle will move, we think it best to stay here, and not to draw down into Yorkshire, to eat up that small remainder of provisions that is left, and by that means do your lordship more prejudice than the enemy can do. This we thought fit to offer to your consideration; and if, notwithstanding all this, you shall think it fit for us to move towards you, it shall be readily done by your lordship's humble servants,

JOHN GELL, JOHN HOTHAM,
OLI. CROMWELL, MI. HOOBERT,
THO. GREY.

Nottingham, June 2nd, 1643.

The last letter is in the hand-writing of Captain John Hotham, and is sealed with his seal. The signatures of the rest are added in their own hands. Lord Fairfax appears to have attached some importance to this communication, having folded it up carefully and endorsed it, "2 June, the Lord Grey, Captain Hotham, &c." Whether Lord Fairfax had any grounds at this time for suspecting the honesty of Hotham is not certain; but the following rapid and decisive answer, commanding the officers, notwithstanding their objections, to join him at once, looks very like a distrust of their intentions. He had just finished a letter to them as the communication from Hotham reached his hands.

"After I had concluded this letter, I received yours, dated 2nd June. I do, notwithstanding all the objections and difficulties therein represented, desire that as you tender the public safety, you draw down this day with all the forces you have, and join with me to suppress this Popish army here, which else, whatsoever report gives it out to you, is of power, without God's miraculous deliverance, to destroy our force, and so by degrees to ruin the kingdom."

That the Hothams were meditating treason at this moment is beyond question, and that Captain Hotham regarded the war as a mere marauding expedition, and thought only of how he could make the best terms and the most plunder, the issues of a few days substantially proved. Less than three weeks after the date of this

letter to Lord Fairfax, we find Mr. Pym, in the House of Commons, detailing the extraordinary ill conduct of this gentleman: how he plundered various persons, without reference to their party; how on one occasion he turned his cannon against Cromwell, who belonged to his detachment, and who may be supposed to have protested against his proceedings; how he was in the habit of getting up unseemly brawls amongst the troops; and how he corresponded with the enemy, especially with the Queen, who, by this time, had returned from Holland.

The evidence on these points was decisive, and Captain Hotham was taken in his bed, and imprisoned in Nottingham Castle; but he managed to make his escape, and was foolish enough to take refuge in Hull, with his father, who was himself plotting the surrender of the town to the Royalists. Secret information of this design having been conveyed to the Mayor, the townspeople quietly assembled in the night, and seizing the magazine, the ordnance, and the guards, made themselves masters of the place, without shedding a drop of blood. Sir John, the Governor, scared out of his sleep by this sudden action, which hardly consumed the space of an hour, fled out of his house in a state of utter dismay, and meeting a man riding into the town, he made him alight, and mounting the horse, galloped for his life into the open country, through the Beverly gate;—that gate which, but a few months before, was the scene of the one great luminous incident of his life, and now the witness of his total ruin and disgrace. At

such a time, it was indispensable to the safety of all other men that traitors should suffer for their guilt; and the justice of the Parliament in such cases was swift and sure. In the depth of that winter the Hothams were tried for the crimes they had committed during the long days of the summer, and in the ensuing January they were executed on Tower Hill.

At the end of June, Lord Fairfax, having succeeded in getting his troops together, intercepted the progress of the Earl of Newcastle, and gave him battle on Adderton Moor. The result was disastrous to the Parliament, whose troops were completely routed and compelled to fall back upon Bradford, and hunted from thence into Hull, which had just been vacated by Sir John Hotham. But failures were so rapidly balanced by victories, that there was hardly time to calculate between them. Parliament, however, found leisure to recognise and reward the activity and endurance of Lord Fairfax, wisely availing themselves of this opportunity to appoint him governor of Hull.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, LORD GENERAL OF THE FORCES RAISED IN THE NORTHERN PARTS, AND GOVERNOR OF HULL.

My Lord,

I have communicated your letter, of the 5th of July, unto the House, who have commanded me to let your

lordship know, that as they have always been sensible of your many and worthy services, so are they now not without a deeper resentment of your late sufferings, whereof they will be ready to give your lordship a full testimony by their constant endeavours to assist you in the great employment you have undertaken for the suppressing of that Popish army which hath so maliciously, and by so many unworthy and barbarous proceedings, invaded the true religion and sincere worship of Almighty God, the safety of his Majesty, and the tranquillity of his kingdoms, in the prosecution of these honourable designs, so much tending to the settling of these present distractions. I am commanded to let you know, and to give all assurance that this House will never desert you, but, upon all occasions, extend their uttermost power and authority both to accommodate you with all necessaries suitable to so great undertakings, and to protect your lordship against the opposition and malignity of all those incendiaries, from whose oppression and cruelties they hope your lordship's wisdom and courage will be a sanctuary and refuge to many of his Majesty's distressed and most loyal subjects in the northern parts. And for the better securing thereof they have, with the concurrence of the lords, appointed your lordship to be Governor of Hull, whereby they conceive your lordship will be very much enabled to proceed in these weighty affairs with much advantage, by the access of that strong garrison to your lordship's army. I am likewise to let you understand that they have been frequently informed of the carriage and deportment of your son, Sir Thomas Fairfax, in his command, so full of valour and honour, for which this House will be ever ready to give to him and the rest of the commanders all due encouragement, as opportunity shall be

offered. And thus, wishing your lordship all prosperity and safety, I rest

Your lordship's most humble servant,

WM. LENTHALL,

Speaker.

Westminster, July 19th, 1643.

THE ORDINANCE OF LORDS AND COMMONS FOR THE LORD FAIRFAX TO BE GOVERNOR OF HULL.

THE Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, upon the assured confidence and trust which they have and do repose in the wisdom, valour, and fidelity of the right honourable Ferdinando Lord Fairfax, do ordain, declare, and appoint that the said Lord Fairfax shall be governor of the town of Kingston-upon-Hull, in the place and stead of Sir John Hotham, knight and baronet, for securing of the said town and the magazines there; and that he shall and may command the said town, and the forces therein, and have the like power that the said Sir John Hotham had; and that all persons whom it doth or may concern shall give their obedience unto the said Lord Fairfax and his emissaries; and that the said Lord Fairfax, or who else he shall appoint under him, shall not deliver up the town of Hull, or magazines there, or any part thereof, without the King's authority signified unto him by both Houses of Parliament. And the said Lords and Commons do further ordain and declare that the said Lord Fairfax shall have the like power and allowance of soldiers, both of horse and foot, for the defence of the said town, and the like pays and allowances for himself, his officers, and soldiers, as the said Sir John Hotham, his officers, and soldiers formerly had; and shall and may at his

will and pleasure place and displace the officers and soldiers of the said garrison, so as to him shall seem most necessary for the defence and safety of the said town.

Jo. Browne,
H. Elsynge, } *Cler. Parl.*

Die Sabbthd, 22nd July, 1643.

In other places the King's troops were actively engaged beating up the Parliament quarters, and her Majesty, who had recently returned from Holland, was making a sort of military progress to meet the King, with whom she fell in at Edgehill, the memorable spot where he had fought his first battle in arms against the people. About the same time Hampden was killed at Chalgrave Field, and Waller's Plot, as it is called, was detected. Some of these incidents are alluded to in the following gossiping letter :

DR. WILSON TO SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

Noble Sir,

The last week your letter came so late, that I had no opportunity to return you thanks for so great a favour, nor must you now expect any other than *jejune* expressions, according to the nature of our monthly solemnity, which falls out upon this very day. Your candour, therefore, must take for current coin the deep apprehension I have of so undeserved an honour. The truth is, my patience is nearly worn out to stay seven hours in a church, my ears being guilty of scarce three words of sense, and my only comfort that I had like to have starved in a great audience.

This next day being Thursday, Mr. Waller and the rest are to come to their trial in Guildhall, where I believe the delinquents would find mercy enough, if the fear of tumult did not urge their judges to some exemplary severity. Our army's pause makes no good harmony in the citizens' opinions; and Colonel Hampden's death revives the memory of my Lord Brooke's funeral. I know not what news to write, unless that we have continual collections for distressed Ireland, and our own maimed soldiers. It is supposed that many salve up the ruins of their estates out of their wounds. The House of Commons are now perfecting the proof of their articles against the Queen; and the report is that the King hath declared this Parliament not to be free, and therefore to have invited the members thereof to Oxford; whereupon our Lords are much incensed. What Sir William Waller or Brereton do with their forces we cannot yet understand.

Certainly I think we may better refer ourselves to Paris for news than take it up at London. Let not these times make you fall out with chess, for kings and queens may in time come again in fashion: however, let that keep up their memory. As for bishops, I must confess I think that here they will scarce ever recover any other notion, than what that game in France affords them; for their subversion seems to be the chief fuel of these desperate troubles.

I have not had the happiness to see your father a long time, nor your brother this fortnight. Next Friday I purpose to wait upon them at Deptford. I much rejoice to hear of any hopes of your wife's so complete a cure, and should account myself infinitely happy to see the accomplishment. Pray present her with my most humble respects, and tell her from me as a prognostic, that her own resolution will be her best remedy. If Mr. Batty be with you still, he may take notice

that I have received my lancets, and for the same, with many thanks and my best service, remain his debtor. The other day I met my Lord Downes, and —— at Piccadilly, the quondam owner of the Diamond Ring, a day after, who is fitting out his ship for the last year's voyage. The gentleman is almost out of conceit with his fortune at picquet. Sir, I confine myself to the limits of my paper, and request you to honour me still with your wonted favours, and esteem me,

Your must humble servant.

Winston is cashiered of his Gresham fellowship, and Dr. De Laen put in his room.

Mr. Greene was with me yesterday in the afternoon, and he is resolved, so soon as he can get a letter from the King to you, to come over to you.*

London, 29th June, 1643.

It cannot be concealed that affairs were not so prosperous with the Parliamentary forces as their patience and energy deserved. An appeal to the gentlemen of Huntingdonshire, from the Committee of the Associated Counties, sitting at Cambridge, shows to what extremities they were driven, and how near to dissolution they were reduced for want of money :

GENTLEMEN,

WE are in great strait, being constrained for our security to guard Huntingdon with some companies, the

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

enemy making many sallies out upon our frontier, coming down to Peterborough this last night, as we are informed by our scouts, and since sent to us by our committee at Huntingdon. We have, according to the resolution of the Committee of the House of Commons for our association, a rule of proportion upon every county for what monies we want; and have sent unto them for 4000*l.*, which, according to the proportion by them agreed, (which herein we send you,) makes your proportion amount to the sum of eight-score pounds, which sum we pray you to send us with all speed, for the payment of our forces herein and at Huntingdon, and discharging of our necessary dues. For we are debarred of raising any monies, the ordinance of Parliament limiting the raising of monies by the particular committees in their several counties. Then if you shall not speedily send us, our garrison will disband, our forces will be possessed by the enemies, and ten special pieces of ordnance will be turned upon you and us, and repentance will be too late. A word to the wise is enough. Here we send you the several sums brought into our treasury since we began out of the several counties, and the sums disbursed, and what we owe, whereby you may see what the proportion in expense is since our sitting in Cambridge. You shall be sure, if God permit, and we by your means be enabled to be kept together, to give you a true account of your several sums which we shall receive from time to time from you. Gentlemen, seriously consider the necessity of keeping this Committee together, and supplying money for such forces as they need, (which we hope shall be with all the best care we can, for the security of the charge and benefit of the several counties,) as a means of the greatest concernment to all the Association. Pardon the length of our lines, on account of those who desire not to serve them-

selves, but the kingdom, our country, yourselves more than themselves, and shall not fail to rest,

Your assured friends,

JOHN KING.	JOHN PALGRAVE.
THOMAS PARKER.	FRANC. JERMYN.
JAMES THOMPSON.	JNO. EDEN.
JOHN BREWSTER.	SAMUEL READE.

Eight hundred men we desire of the whole Association: your proportion is thirty-two men.

Further, we are to inform you that Mr. Thomas Corey being to pay long since 30*l.* into the treasury here, for which Mr. Greenwood, your sheriff, is security, we do expect that he will send up the same accordingly, whereof we entreat you will be pleased to give them notice.

Gentlemen, we have received this comfort, that by a party of horse sent to Peterborough we have discovered that the enemy is retreated.*

Cambridge, the 17th of June, 1643.

Here follows a curious relic in Cromwell's handwriting, much to the same effect, urging, with a full heart, the youth of Huntingdon to contribute muscles and money to the common cause, and to supply horse troops as the chief necessity:

COLONEL CROMWELL'S LETTER TO THE BACHELORS AND MAIDS, 2ND AUGUST, 1643, FROM HUNTINGDON.

SIR,

I UNDERSTAND by these gentlemen the good affections of your young men and maids, for which God is to be

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

praised. I approve of the business, only I desire to advise you that your foot company may be turned into a troop of horse, which, indeed, will (by God's blessing) far more advantage the cause than two or three companies of foot, especially if your men be honest, godly men, which by all means I desire. I thank God for stirring up the youth to cast in their mite, which I desire may be employed to the best advantage; therefore my advice is, that you would employ your twelve-score pounds to buy pistols and saddles, and I will provide four-score horses; for 400*l.* more will not raise a troop of horse. As for the muskets that are bought, I think the country will take them of you. Pray raise honest, godly men, and I will have them of my regiment. As for your officers, I leave it as God shall or hath directed to choose, and rest,

Your loving friend,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

August 2nd, 1643.

Cromwell had lately gained what he termed "a notable victory" at Gainsborough, but in the following interesting letter to the Cambridge Committee (who, as we have seen, were not to blame for the straits to which the army were reduced), he shows how uncertain all prospects were in that direction, and how grievously the troops were neglected by those whose duty it was to provide for them. This plain speaking, and calling aloud for succour, enabled the committee to send the echo of the crying want back to Parliament with redoubled force.

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

TO MY HONOURED FRIENDS THE COMMISSIONERS AT CAMBRIDGE, THESE PRESENT.

GENTLEMEN,

FINDING our foot much lessened at Stamford, and having a great train and many carriages, I held it not safe to continue there, but presently after my return from you, I ordered the foot to quit that place and march into Holland, which they did on Monday last. I was the rather induced so to do because of the letter I received from my Lord Willoughby, a copy whereof I sent you. I am now at Peterborough, whither I came this afternoon. I was no sooner come but Lieutenant Colonel Wood sent me word, from Spalding, that the enemy was marching with twelve flying colours of horse and foot within a mile of Swinstead, so that I hope it was a good providence of God that our foot were at Spalding; it much concerns your association and the kingdom that so strong a place as Holland is be not possessed by them; if you have any foot ready to march, send them away to us with all speed. I fear lest the enemy should press in upon our foot; he being thus far advanced towards you, I hold it very fit that you should hasten your horse at Huntingdon and what you can speedily raise at Cambridge unto me. I dare not go into Holland with my horse, lest the enemy should advance with his whole body of horse this way into your association, but am ready endeavouring to get my Lord Gray's and the Northamptonshire horse to me, that so, if we be able, we may fight the enemy, or retreat unto you with our whole strength. I beseech you hasten your leavers, what you can, especially those of foot; quicken all our friends with new letters upon this occasion, which I believe you will find to be a true alarm: the parti-

culars I hope to be able to inform you speedily of more punctually, having sent in all haste to Colonel Wood for that purpose. The money I brought with me is so poor a pittance when it comes to be distributed amongst all my troops that, considering their necessity, it will not half clothe them, they were so far behind; if we have not more money speedily they will be exceedingly discouraged. I am sorry you put me to it to write thus often, it makes it seem a needless importunity in me; whereas, in truth, it is a constant neglect of those that should provide for us. Gentlemen, make them able to live and subsist that are willing to spend their blood for you. I say no more, but rest

Your faithful servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

August 8th, 1643.

The same language is held everywhere with greater and lesser eagerness; and amidst this universal clamour, threatening disorganisation and rupture, we find the Fairfaxes, father and son, steadily pursuing their objects, moving up and down the country through risks and perils of no common magnitude, and keeping their breath for action, while most others are expending theirs in murmurs and complaints. At Bradford, Sir Thomas Fairfax, besieged by the Earl of Newcastle, cut his passage through the Royalists, and made good his way to Leeds. On this occasion his wife was taken prisoner. Finding Leeds in the utmost disorder, he fled towards Hull, and on his way defended the ferry at Selby, while his father crossed the river. Calamities accumulated

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

upon him. He was shot in the wrist, and from the fatigues of this dreadful retreat nearly lost his daughter, then only five years old, afterwards Duchess of Buckingham. For twenty hours he sat his horse with his wrist shattered. At Burton he lay down, hoping to get a little rest, but was called up in a quarter of an hour by the sudden appearance of the enemy, and had scarcely time to huddle his ordnance on board a ship in the Humber, when the King's troops galloped into the town. In this mangled condition, covered with blood, without a shirt, and his clothes rent, he arrived alive at Hull. A few days afterwards the Earl of Newcastle had the gallantry to send home Lady Fairfax in his own coach, attended by a maid of honour.

The usual horrors of civil war convulsed the country. There was no security against the lawlessness of the soldiery, who availed themselves (on both sides) of the slightest pretexts for entering private houses, and plundering and menacing the inhabitants. A suspicion of disaffection either way, or the possession of arms or gunpowder, was excuse enough for violence and rapine. Unprotected widows, or ladies who were left in charge of mansions and domains, while their husbands were out levying troops, offered irresistible temptation to the scattered parties of half-fed troops that went marauding hungrily over the country. The history of these campaigns is highly coloured with personal incidents, such as that to which the following letter alludes. The writer is the Lord Francis Willoughby, who was

drowned at Barbadoes in 1666, and the lady referred to was the widow of Viscount Castleton, an Irish peer, whose grandson was created a peer of England by the same title in 1714 :

FOR THE HONOURABLE SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX, THIS PRESENT.

NOBLE SIR,

THERE is a lady, my lady Casselton, a kinswoman of mine, who hath been frighted by some of your troops that have plundered in her house; there was some powder found there, which I hear she hath much exceptions taken against her for; her lord was a deputy lieutenant, and this powder was of the country's powder which he had, having a command of the Trained Bands. You may see by the being of it there, that she had no intentions against the Parliament, for you know there have been many occasions for her to show her affection. She is a lady, and I know you are civil to all, much more to ladies; only I make this request, in my lady's behalf, she being a widow, and having many things as children and debts of my lord's to look after, that she may have your favour, as not to have any hard opinion of her; but that you would be pleased to be a friend to her in answering, if anything should be informed against her. I will assure you I should not move it, but that I know she is and ever hath been no ill friend of the Parliament; in it you shall oblige me, who am

Your most humble servant,

F. WILLOUGHBY.

Totsall, this 23rd of October.

The Earl of Newcastle (about this time elevated to a marquisate) had now penetrated into Lincolnshire with nearly the whole of his army. His design was to seize Boston, the "key of the Associated Counties," and thence away into Essex to block up London. The Fairfaxes made a diversion at Stanford Bridge, which drew him into Yorkshire, where he sat down before Hull under somewhat hopeless circumstances, the sluices being opened at his approach, and the country flooded for two miles round. While his Lordship of Newcastle was meditating upon this intervention of the waters, the younger Fairfax crossed over into Lincolnshire at the head of a body of horse (useless in besieged Hull) to join the Earl of Manchester. He was eagerly received on landing by Cromwell. The junction of their forces led to the battle of Horncastle, or Winceby Fight, as it is now frequently called. Of this fight we have the following special relation amongst the Fairfax papers :

AN EXACT RELATION OF THE VICTORY OBTAINED BY THE FORCES UNDER THE COMMAND OF THE EARL OF MANCHESTER, AGAINST THE EARL OF NEWCASTLE'S FORCES, IN LINCOLNSHIRE, UNDER THE COMMAND OF SIR JOHN HENDERSON.

Upon the 10th day of October, the Earl of Manchester advanced with his horse and foot from Boston to the towns about Bullingbrooke, in Lincolnshire, with a purpose to take the castle of Bullingbrooke, which did enslave all those parts

of Holland near Teiston. The enemy having taken possession of Wanflet, began there to fortify, intending to make his winter quarters there. Upon the Earl's march into those parts the enemy quitted that pass and upon the 10th day the Earl quartered at Kirkby, within a mile of Bullingbrooke, and quartered his horse six miles up in the country beyond Bullingbrooke; the alarm place for his horse being Horncastle; and sent ten foot companies into the town of Bullingbrooke, under the command of Sir Miles Hubbart, where the enemy had the church fortified, besides the castle. The same day eighty colours of horse and dragoons of the enemy marched from fraising Lincoln and other quarters, and came in a full body towards Horncastle, and marched so fast as they were discovered but two hours before they came to Horncastle; by which means the alarm could not be so speedily given to the horse quarters of the Earl of Manchester, so as to get into a full body before the enemy was at Horncastle. Yet such was the vigilance and industry of the Earl, that he went from his own quarters towards Horncastle upon the first alarm, and got many of his horse into a body at Horncastle town's end. There he stood, and wanting above a twentieth of his troops, he thought it not fit to engage, but fell back into his quarters at Kirkby, that so he might draw up all his forces to an entire body, while those troops he had stood in the alarm-place at Horncastle.

Captain Plaine and Captain Moody, their troops coming from their quarters within seven miles of Lincoln, espied three bodies of the enemy betwixt them and the town of Horncastle, and being ordered to march to the rest of the troops, and having no way to deliver themselves, they charged the first body of the enemy and routed it, and killed many. Then they came to another body, and charged them through,

and so forced their way to the town of Horncastle, without the loss of above eight men. Captain Johnson coming likewise towards the alarm-place, by mistake fell upon a quarter of the enemy, took twelve prisoners and brought off his men without any loss. Captain Johnson and Captain Samuel Moody were under Sir Miles Hubbard's command.

The Earl spent all that night in the field for the better drawing up of his body together against the next morning, when having intelligence that the enemy would march next day to Bullingbrooke for the relief of the castle, the Earl, the next morning, being Wednesday the 12th of October, drew all his horse and foot into battalions upon Bullingbrooke Hill, having a very safe place of retreat into Holland. About twelve of the clock, notice was brought that the enemy was marching within three miles in a full body, whereupon the Earl marched towards them and met them midway upon a plain field, near where the armies faced one another about one hour, and then the forlorn hope had a very sharp encounter, and my Lord Manchester's regiment and Colonel Cromwell's gave their body such a charge as they would not abide a second.

Colonel Cromwell charged at some distance before his regiment, when his horse was killed under him. He recovered himself, however, from under his horse but afterwards was again knocked down, yet by God's good providence he got up again. The enemy's forlorn hope charging ours, and a good body of horse following them, Sir Thomas Fairfax being in the rear of Colonel Cromwell's regiment with his first body, fell in towards the flank of the enemy's body, which they perceiving, the enemy's body broke, and so Sir Thomas had the chase and execution of them a great way. Sir Miles Hubbard's regiments were ready to charge, and the enemy

turning head, our men fell upon them and pursued them four miles, killing them and taking prisoners all the way.

Colonel Carnaby, Colonel Hopton, and divers persons of great quality were slain, whereof many fell in the place of encounter. 1200 were slain, wounded, and taken prisoners, and as the countrymen report, betwixt 100 and 200 drowned in Horncastle river. The Earl pursued the enemy to Horncastle and there quartered for the night. Very many of our men are wounded, but we do not hear of above twenty killed. Let God have all the praise of this victory! Twenty-six colours, which were taken, are brought already to my lord.

While this fight was going on, the roar of cannon was heard at a distance, and the smoke of other guns than those of Winceby was seen gathering upon the heavens. It was from the beleaguered walls of Hull. The elder Fairfax, while his son was heading the reserve of horse at Horncastle, and hunting the dishevelled Royalists into ditches and quagmires, charged out suddenly upon the Earl of Newcastle, and threw him and his troops into such consternation that he fled for York, leaving his ordnance behind him. These events were decisive as far as they went. Lincolnshire was now pretty well cleared of the Array, and Yorkshire held out but a precarious shelter. The Royalists, defeated at the same moment at the two points to which they had directed their main strength, shut themselves up in their quarters, and attempted nothing more that winter.

How these signal successes were effected by an army

in such a condition of bankruptcy is past comprehension. Food and clothing there was little, and sometimes none. Even the officers, unless they could help themselves, were reduced to rags. Yet they kept together and acted together with a devotion quite unparalleled. A petition to Sir Thomas Fairfax from some of his officers, dated about the middle of the December of this year, affords a conclusive illustration of the misery through which this high-mettled zeal survived to show itself in all aspects worthy of its cause :

Noble Sir,

The ardent zeal we have to promote the cause of Almighty God, the great desire we have to enjoy the liberties of our nation, and our hearty affection to your person, have drawn us with unwearied endurance of toils, undauntedness of courage, and unreproveable demeanours, to follow you through divers countries. How the Omnipotent goodness hath showered happy successes upon us, is apparent to all that have seen or heard it. What remuneration we have had, is known only to yourself. And seeing our extreme wants do now urge us, we are bold to present our complaints to you, from whom we look to be supplied; be therefore pleased to take our condition into your consideration, and conceive of us, as men who have lived in a reasonable affluence of all conveniences, and now to be dejected into so deep an exigency it must needs abate our spirits.

If these countries, for whom (by God's providence) we have done so great things, be unwilling to supply us, that we may be enabled to provide clothes for our backs, shoes and other accoutrements for our horses, and some comfortable

refreshing for our bodies, in case God shall please to visit us; that some speedy and effectual course may be taken to compel them thereunto, before we be drawn hence, and if there be no hopes of any recompense, and that we must hazard our lives and fortunes; we rather desire that you would lead us into our own country, (which hath groaned under longer and greater desolations than any in the kingdom,) where we, for the regaining of our estates, the freedom of our country, the flourishing of the Gospel, and the enjoyment of our liberties, will be content with our former unwearied diligence to submit ourselves to your honour's commands.

Will. Long.	John Wildon.
Rich. Stanhope.	Leon. Robinson.
Geo. Smithson.	Tho. Ackland.
Robert Newham.	Matt. Foster.
Thomas Talbot.	Richard Smyth.
Richard Oracroft.	John Marshall.
Thomas Johnson.	Mich. Richardson.
Edward Hayward.	

Upon his own credit, Sir Thomas Fairfax clothed 1500 of his men, nor was he wanting in other sacrifices to encourage them. Having been appointed to a separate command, as General of Cheshire, with its adjacent counties, he found his labours and responsibilities heavily increased, while his resources were more beggarly than ever. In the coldest part of the season, with his men, sick, ill-paid, and half-naked, he was ordered to march for Nantwich, to raise the siege of that town, which was put to great extremity by Lord Byron, at the head of a wild Irish army. In vain he called upon Parliament to

supply the wants of the soldiery. Parliament lacked the means. Thus left to shift for himself, he put his ragged followers into the best condition he could, and in the following letter announced to the committee his intention, in the face of these most adverse circumstances, to set out for Nantwich.

TO MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS, THE COMMITTEE AT STANSFORD, THESE.

GENTLEMEN,

I AM not a little grieved to perceive by yours of December 22nd, that Sir William Brereton is so straitened by the confluence of such potent enemies. His own truly noble deportment and worth, besides the interest of the common cause, do challenge the utmost assistance of the power of any that bear good affection to the public safety. For my own part, though many objections arise from the present condition of the forces under my command, and otherwise, I resolve, if God permit, to begin my march towards his relief within two days at the furthest, and had done so sooner had not the necessary provision of clothes, and other things for my men, retarded my resolution somewhat. My purpose is to march by the way of Leicester, and be there, God willing, about Monday or Tuesday next.

My desire is, that I may by your means receive information which way from thence I may most safely march; what your intelligence is concerning the interposition of the enemy's forces; where it is expected I should fall in with the forces of any of our friends, (for though your letters mention a besieging of Sir William Brereton, they name no place where); and what

else you shall conceive may be most conducible to the expediting of my desires in this service. If you shall think fit thus to send us any further light, the messenger may either meet with or hear of us at Leicester; if not, I desire he should come on further towards my quarters, and I doubt not but he will meet us on our march. Further I shall not now add, but commit the issue of all to the blessing of God, to whose providence in this particular service, and in any other that may advance the public good, there is none more desirous to be instrumental than

Your affectionate friend and servant,

THOS. FAIRFAX.

Sempringham, Dec. 27th, 1643.

In two days after the date of this letter, he was on his way to Nantwich, at the head of 2500 foot, and 28 troops of horse.

1644.

REVERSES AT BOTH SIDES—NANTWICH, NEWARK.

THE SIEGE OF LATHOM HOUSE.

SCATTERED MEMORABILIA, LAMBERT, RANDOLPH CREWE SIR RICHARD BROWNE, JOHN EVELYN.

THE KING'S EXPERIMENTAL TRIP FROM OXFORD, AND BACK AGAIN.

BATTLE OF MARSTON MOOR.

FLIGHT OF THE QUEEN, AND CLEARANCE OF THE NORTH.

1644.

THE winter of 1644 opened with great severity. The same snow, knee-deep, through which the Scots crossed the border, was crushed by the troops of the younger Fairfax on his road to a new triumph. His father still holding Hull, was still the Parliamentary general for the whole of the north; yet the bolder genius of the son had already begun to fill out a larger space in the eyes of the country. Thundering down to the gates of Nantwich, with his raw levy of foot soldiers, and his dragoons in their new suits, he found the town in such a strait of weakness and famine, that it was on the point of surrendering. He had just come in time. Understanding that Lord Byron, who had been apprised of his approach, had drawn out his troops to meet him, he adopted the singular expedient of putting his men into the order in which he intended to fight, and thus continued his march till he came up within cannon-shot of the enemy's works. The battle was of short duration, but most important in its consequences. Lord Byron and his Irish were utterly routed; and the whole body, with the exception of a fragment of horse that escaped to Chester, surrendered themselves in disorder—officers,

men, arms, colours, and ammunition—into the hands of the victors. These Byrons were strenuous supporters of the monarch, and the last and most illustrious of the name has made it a matter of exultation that four brothers of them fell in the royal cause.*

Fairfax thus communicated his hardships and success to his wife :—

FROM SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX TO LADY FAIRFAX.

DEAR HEART,

THOUGH I staid long for an opportunity of writing to you, yet God be thanked I can now have it, with cause of much thankfulness; for a great victory it hath pleased Him to give us over the Irish army, having totally routed their foot, and taken almost all their chief commanders† and inferior ones too, a list of whom I send you here inclosed, and a particular relation to the Lord General‡ of that service. God is to have the glory, who put them so happily into our hands.

I have not yet heard from you since your coming to London, but heard you were safely arrived there. I have endured some hardship since I parted with you, being forced to march and watch night and day this frost and snowy weather. I have much trouble to command these forces I now have,

* "On Marston, with Rupert, 'gainst traitors contending,
Four brothers enriched with their blood the bleak field,
For the rights of a monarch, their country defending,
'Till death their attachment to royalty sealed."—*Hours of Idleness.*

† Amongst them, Monk, afterwards Duke of Albemarle.

‡ Essex. The "particular relation" will be found in Rushworth. It is dated on the day following the date of this letter. Sir Thomas wrote to his wife first.

there being such divisions amongst the commanders, which doth much impair my health. I desire you to present my humble duty to my Lady Vere. I had no time to write, but by this to make my excuse, and acknowledgment of my great debt for her ladyship's favours. Remember my humble service to all my honourable and noble sisters, and to my sister Elizabeth* and Moll. So, dear heart, farewell.

Your most affectionate husband,

THO. FAIRFAX.

For yourself, dear heart.

Nantwich, Jan. 28th, 1643-4. [*N. S.* 1644.]

Little alleviation of the state of the army appears to have taken place up to this time. Pay was still in arrears, and doled out with uncertainty; and outrages, which no authority, under such circumstances, could wholly restrain, continued to spread dismay through the country. With a view to sustain the zeal of his troops, and keep them in proper condition for the toils that lay before them, Sir Thomas Fairfax submitted the following string of resolutions to the principal officers and gentry of Lancashire:—

* His sister Elizabeth was married to Sir Wm. Craven, of Linchwicke, in Worcestershire. If by Moll is meant his daughter Mary, she was at this time little better than five years old.

SOME PROPOSITIONS WHEREUPON THE DEPUTY LIEUTENANTS, COLONELS AND OTHER GENTLEMEN OF LANCASHIRE, ARE DESIRED TO ADVISE AND GIVE SPEEDY RESOLUTION.

1. That to supply the present necessity of my body of horse there be speedily procured 4000*l.*, which will not amount to more than a fortnight's pay, and that afterwards the horse and foot being considered as one entire body, be paid proportionably out of the weekly assessments, and otherwise by the public treasurer appointed.

2. That for the more speedy raising of the said sum of 4000*l.* such persons throughout the county as have not advanced upon the possessions, or not proportionable to their estates, be assessed according to the ordinances of Parliament, and in particular that there be presently required and seized, of the persons nominated in a schedule hereunto annexed, the sum of 3000*l.* in a proportionable way.

3. That there be a speedy course taken to raise upon the county in a proportionable way 300 able serviceable horse for the recruiting of my troops.

4. That a particular list be given in of the several companies in the county, as well such as are newly raised, as others, to the end they may be disposed into several regiments, and exercised and commanded out as there shall be occasion.

5. That some way may be contrived to draw out of the several regiments 2000 men that may be actually in service under my command, and move with me out of the county for the public service as there shall be occasion.

6. That that part of Cheshire that by agreement was assigned for the maintaining of the garrison of Warrington, may be returned to be liable to the charge of Cheshire, and that either the garrison be not continued at Warrington, or

if there be cause it should, that it be maintained out of the charge of Lancashire.

7. That it be considered what garrisons are necessary to be maintained in the county, and what number of men are requisite thereunto.

8. That in regard of the late outrages by garrisons at Lathom, some course be thought on to prevent farther mischiefs, and secure the well affected in those parts.

February 15th, 1643, [*N.S.* 1644.]

Lord Byron was lieutenant-general to Prince Rupert, who held the command in this part of the country, and his defeat at Nantwich operated dismally on the spirits of the Royalists. Prince Rupert was immediately despatched to Shrewsbury, Chester, and North Wales, to look to the security of these places, and then to attempt the relief of Newark, which was trenched round by the troops of the Parliament.

The preservation of Newark was of the last importance to the Royalists. Lying between Oxford and York, the whole of the intermediate country would have been shut up had the town fallen into the hands of the Parliamentarians. To that point, therefore, they directed their energies, and Prince Rupert, collecting all the strength he could muster on his rapid journey through Shrewsbury and Chester, poured down upon Newark with such precipitation that the army, which lay encamped about its walls, were taken by surprise, and thrown into consternation. The garrison, consisting mostly of the gentry and the inhabitants, had been

reduced to extremity; and, had Prince Rupert's relief come a little later, the town must have surrendered. The suddenness of his appearance (for they believed him to be at some distance) spread such a confusion amongst the besiegers, that they gave way at once, and were glad to effect a retreat at the cost of their arms and munitions. The failure before Newark is alluded to in a letter from Basil Fielding, Earl of Denbigh, to Sir Thomas Fairfax. The writer was ardent in the cause of the Parliament, while his father fought on the other side. Amongst the revolting episodes of this civil war was the meeting of father and son on the field of battle at Edge-hill, where the father was mangled with wounds, of which he died only a few months before the date of this letter. The son lived to distinguish himself in many of the conflicts which ensued, until the new-modelling of the army of the Parliament, when he threw up his commission and withdrew into private life. He survived the Restoration many years, and died in 1675.

FOR MY NOBLE FRIEND SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX.

Noble Sir,

Our late mischance at Newark hath necessitated me to march with all our forces here to the relief of our friends there, which will defer for a time my going for Shropshire. It troubles me much to hear the garrison of Wem remains yet under some danger, and therefore you will be pleased to

cast your eye upon those parts, upon this enforced delay I am put to, in consideration of this present design, which is of so great consequence to the whole Kingdom. If God will give us success in this attempt, it will enable me to serve the counties adjoining you with advantage, and be favourable to our mutual interests there, which shall be the endeavour of

Your faithful friend, and humble servant,

B. DENBIGH.

Coventry, March 23*rd*, 1643. [*N. S.* 1644.]

Some letters, addressed to Sir Thomas Fairfax about this period, from officers holding different commands, contain reports of the progress of affairs in other quarters. The first of these is from Colonel Duckenfield, the governor of Chester, who served in 1649 as high sheriff for the county of Chester.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX, LIEUTENANT-GENERAL OF THE NORTHERN FORCES, THIS PRESENT.

SIR,

I HAVE endeavoured (since I knew your pleasure) to get my soldiers into order fit for service, to advance to Nantwich; but they have disbanded themselves, and are following the plough, and from thence they will not be drawn. Yet upon the receipt of your letter yesterday, I sent to the captains to join with me presently, to call their companies together, to march with them and me to Nantwich; but their soldiers refuse to stir yet. They pretend that the dragooners are so uncivil, that they plunder

the country extremely, and they dare not leave their houses for fear of them. Besides, most of them have been upon service very long without any pay; and the gentlemen of the country take care to keep our men upon continual hard duty; but they regard not the poor soldiers when the danger is passed, which will be our ruin, in regard there is that general resolution of the country hereabouts. I dare not take in hand to punish them yet, unless I were more encouraged and countenanced by the Council of War, or by other safe authority; and that my men might be better paid, I shall be willing to do duty as a common soldier myself, rather than to command men in this way. I received an order from the Council of War before Michaelmas last past, that my regiment should be first paid out of the sequestration in Macclesfield Hundred, but neither myself nor my soldiers have received sixpence from them since that time; and now they demand their pay, or part thereof, from me; and the sequestrators are ordered to pay the money into the Treasury at Nantwich, which deprives them of all hope of pay. In case I keep a guard at Woodhead and Adlington I desire to know, whether those works must be pulled down or no. The Marshall-General men do dispose of the prisoners at Stockport, and so suffer them to make escape for bribes; and yet they expect that I or my officers shall both guard them and provide for them. The country is much offended hereat, and at the violence of the dragooners and troopers, more than I dare now inform you of. I am afraid some mischief will ensue thereof. I commend the business to your honourable consideration, and rest

Your honour's servant,

ROBERT DUCKENFIELD.

Stockport, 6th March, 1643. [*N. S.* 1644.]

FOR THE HONOURABLE SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX, GENERAL OF THE NORTHERN FORCES FOR THE PARLIAMENT IN CHESHIRE, THESE.

SIR,

AFTER two days' stay at Stafford (for I could not get a convoy till Mr. Rugeley went to Coventry), I hasted to London with what speed mine own horses could; for I could not well be furnished otherwise. The day before I came, the business concerning your march into Yorkshire was in agitation, and a little preparation being put on by Sir Philip Stapleton; but the next day, as soon as I was known to be in the town, the Yorkshire men were called, and the Cheshire men, to the Committee for both Kingdoms. Both gave their opinions each against other concerning it, and we dismissed with this:—That it being a business of great importance, they would take time to consider of it. There have been two debates about it since, but by Sir Philip's strong endeavours, it is now determined that you shall march into Yorkshire, as will more plainly appear.

Sir, I received your letter, with that of Colonel Booth's and those of Colonel Holland's; but, considering your march into Yorkshire will shortly begin, I have presumed to respite the negociation of them all till I receive further order from you, that of Colonel Booth being more proper for Sir William Brereton; that of Colonel Holland's being a business that will spin out some time, which you cannot attend, and that for the levying of money being of late ordered in several cases to be referred to the committees, and not to any officers military. The Ordinance for the 10,000*l.* we got passed yesterday; and this day Captain Gill and I are to meet some of the City upon the Exchange about it. We are in hope to

get it shortly; and therein in truth Captain Gill hath taken much pains, both protecting and prosecuting the business to the utmost advantage hitherto. We hope to decide equally with Mr. White, who takes care for my lord's part. My lady is very well; Sir William Fairfax's lady is indifferently recovered, and Mrs. Lambert in health also.

A garrison, not far hence, of great importance, hath been lately stormed by our men, and most of the garrison put to the sword in the storm, being mostly Walloons. Sir Richard Greenfield, the Lieutenant-Colonel to Sir William Waller, is lately fled to the King with fifteen horse. The direction of a letter, sent from the King the other day to the Parliament, was yesterday in question, whether to be accepted or no. It was in these words:—"To the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Westminster;" but I think it is resolved to be accepted. This is all the news I hear; wherewith I present my humble respects to you, desirous to approve myself,

Sir,

Your most humble and faithful servant,

CHR. COPLEY.

Holborn, March 6th, 1643. [*N. S.* 1644.]

We hear since that the demi-cannon and the great mortar-piece are sent to Newark for the service there, and that the Scots have taken a troop of horse from the enemy.

FOR THE HONOURABLE SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX, GENERAL OF THE NORTHERN FORCES.

SIR,

THE news in these parts is, that Colonel Hastings is this day come to Ashburne; and with those forces which removed from Bakewell (they are about 1000 or 1200

strong), resolves to march to Chesterfield, there to join with Colonel Fretchvile; and that strength, with the forces at Doncaster, intend to raise the siege at Newark. This I have from a gentleman of this country, who was taken prisoner the last night by them, and upon some small composition was set at liberty, and since gave me this notice.

The best intelligence of Newark which I can learn is a letter that came from Sir John Gell to me, which I made bold to present yesterday to you. Here is a matter of twenty soldiers come to me from Sheffield. If I were allowed to advance nearer those parts, I doubt not but to make a good addition to your strength. I shall heartily pray for your good success against Latham House, desiring, when either it is taken or surrendered, the dragoons may be sent up, according to your former order. I find the greatest part of the people senseless of their own good, and the commanders slow both in raising men and maintenance for them.

If it please you to send Major Morgan in these parts, we may effect something upon the garrisoned houses, which do much hinder the increase of men and money. Sir, I humbly desire a commission, signed by yourself, to several gentlemen, whose names I shall put in as occasion or their faithfulness shows itself for the 'sessing and raising money, which, in the hundred of Scarsdale, High Yorke, and Wirksworth, we appointed for the maintenance of our force. It is too great a burden for me both to raise men and money. A man who is employed in war ought not to be troubled with the affairs of the world.

Sir, Captain Lyn and his men, who is both active and faithful, be in great distress of money, being of my lord's regiment, and in all the service of Cheshire. My humble request is, that he may have the same encouragement as

all other men, his valour deserving it. I doubt not but ere this you have received intelligence, if not from me, yet from others here, that the arms are all come to Derby in safety. What occurrences happen in these parts he will give you speedy notice of the same, who will ever rest

Your most faithful and most humble servant,

Jo. Bright.

[*About the date of March.*]

Sir,—I have already conveyed your former letter to Derby, and shall despatch the rest with all convenient speed. I desire your commission for establishing a committee may be sent with the first conveniency. Little news from Sheffield, or those parts, but men daily outruns them. I make bold to present this inclosed; it came to a servant of mine, from his father, who lives about Sheffield.

The picture given by Colonel Duckenfield of the state of the army shows that all power of control over the soldiery was gone. They had disbanded themselves, gone back to their houses, and refused to obey the summons of their officers to return to their duty. These serious embarrassments were heightened by an injudicious movement on the part of the Parliament, who, at a moment when it was so important to gather into the North all the available strength of the army, ordered off Sir Thomas Fairfax to the siege of Latham House, which he was strictly prohibited from breaking up without special leave.

Latham, or Lathom House, the chief seat of the Stanleys, was a great building, standing in a spungy

basin, surrounded by massive walls, flanked by nine ponderous towers mounting heavy pieces of ordnance, with a keep, a vast moat, and a breast-work. In this stronghold the Earl of Derby and his Countess were holding high revels, when the breaking out of the Civil War called away the Earl to the service of the King. During his absence the Countess was summoned to submit to the propositions of the Parliament, or surrender. For several months she ingeniously contrived to evade a direct reply, enduring all the time the terrors of a siege, being confined to her private walks and gardens, and suffering the inconveniences of sequestration. At last it was resolved that the siege should be carried out in right earnest, and on the 27th February Sir Thomas Fairfax established his quarters round the house. On the next day he transmitted to Lady Derby the following letter :—

TO MY LADY DERBY, TO RENDER THE GARRISON OF LATHAM.

BEING sent hither over this part by command from the Parliament to suppress and prevent all force that shall oppose their legal just power, and to prevent the increasing miseries of some almost ruinated counties, which, by God's great goodness, hath had some happy success; and understanding that your ladyship keeps Latham with a garrison of soldiers in it, which doth many injuries to the army and much hinder them, and is a receptacle and great encouragement to the Papists and disaffected persons in those parts, (which I cannot believe your ladyship doth naturally affect); I should not do my duty

if I neglect the means to remove that mischief. Yet, madam, I do owe you that so much honour as a lady, as I would use all just means that would make me capable of serving your ladyship, and proceed so as may testify so much, though some force be already near your ladyship.

I desire to have sent your ladyship herein inclosed an Act of Parliament (indeed I have need to excuse it to your ladyship I had not a better to send you, having passed many hands, there being but this in the county), that your ladyship may make use of the clemency of the Parliament. And if the Earl of Derby will make an advantage of it, I shall faithfully serve his lordship in it; and if your ladyship so render up that place, Latham House, I shall offer such terms as may be honourable and convenient for your ladyship,—not but the Parliament, which aims at nothing but the establishment of true religion and the honour and peace of the King and kingdom, will have a tender respect and care over your ladyship. I will add no more, but an assurance to your ladyship; only I say this to prevent such that may happen, and to do your ladyship the best service that is in the power of

Your ladyship's most faithful and humble servant,

THOS. FAIRFAX.

Her ladyship's object was to gain time, and her policy consisted accordingly in demurs and delays. In reply to the requisition of the Parliamentary General, she expressed her wonder at being required to give up her lord's house, and begged a week's consideration that she might resolve her doubts of law and conscience. But Sir Thomas penetrated her purpose, became more peremptory, and offered to remove her ladyship in her

carriage to New Park, a house of the earl's, about a quarter of a mile from Lathom. This message, which was courteously intended and delivered, surprised her ladyship into a passion, and she rejected it in a burst of anger, declaring that it would be more knightly that Sir Thomas should wait upon her than she upon him. In this way matters hung for a few days longer, the agents employed by Fairfax being invariably foiled by the wit or firmness of her ladyship; until at last the negociations were suddenly brought to a close by a final declaration on the part of the Countess that she could treat no farther, to which she added, that "though a woman and a stranger, [her ladyship was a French woman, daughter of the Duc de Tremouille, and descended from the famous Count William of Nassau], divorced from her friends, and robbed of her estate, she was ready to receive their utmost violence, trusting in God for protection and deliverance."

Upon the receipt of this answer, hostilities were begun promptly enough, but carried on with most dreary indecision. They were put into motion about the 6th March, and we find Sir Thomas Fairfax sitting down here, directing single shots and splashes of powder to no effect till the 24th April, when he appears to have abandoned the business, and proceeded, as he would have done long before if he had had the power, into Yorkshire. This siege of a valiant lady in her castle excited universal sympathy. It threw a solitary glow of personal interest upon a corner of the great war; it was

like a scrap of old romance let into a framework of coarse violent reality.

The conduct of the siege now devolved upon Mr. or Colonel Rigby of Preston, a member of Parliament for Wigan, "a lawyer," says a contemporary, "and a bad one," of an impetuous disposition, and ill qualified, from want of military knowledge, to manage such an affair. He appears to have thought that the best thing he could do was to gather up his powder, and manufacture it into grenadoes, which he could fling upon the devoted garrison as opportunity suited. These grenadoes had already done much mischief, and he relied more upon them than upon all the rest of his resources. Having got his materials ready, he sent a furious message to Lady Derby, summoning her peremptorily to surrender. The heroine was standing amongst her soldiers when this message was delivered. Receiving the paper on which it was written from the hands of the envoy, she tore it up, and exclaimed that the proper reward for Rigby would be to be hanged at her gates. "Tell that insolent rebel," she continued, "he shall neither have person, goods, nor house; when our strength and provisions are spent, we shall find a fire more merciful than Rigby's, and then, if the providence of God prevent it not, my goods and house shall burn in his sight; and myself, children, and soldiers, rather than fall into his hands, will seal our religion and loyalty in the same flame."

Apprehending, from the determined spirit of this

answer, that Rigby would immediately open a fire upon the castle, her ladyship, whose valour was quite equal to her eloquent expression of it, resolved to be beforehand with him; and, at four o'clock the next morning, her soldiers issued out of the eastern gate upon the desperate design of endeavouring to secure the ditch and rampart. It was a choice of deaths. The cry amongst them was, "We must either kill or be killed." The horror of the crisis inspired them with a courage and devotion beyond all ordinary calculation. There was one mortar-piece which had raked them piteously, and which they feared more than all the rest of the enemy's guns. From its dreadful mouth issued those flaming grenadoes which, tumbling in showers of fire upon the heads of the beleaguered garrison, produced the most terrible results. The first thing they did was to make for the trench where this mortar-piece lay guarded by fifty soldiers. After a quarter of an hour's fighting, they won the sconce, gained the rampart, levelled the ditch, and drawing up the iron monster by ropes, dragged it into the house. Having accomplished their object, they looked down upon Rigby with scorn. It was a jubilee to witness the mad glee with which the poor soldiers danced round this fearful trophy when they had got it safely within doors, and saw it lying dumb and harmless at their feet. The historian of the siege says, "Now [exulting over the mortar] neither ditches nor aught else troubled our soldiers; their grand terror, the mortar-piece, which had

frightened them from their meat and sleep, lying, like a dead lion, quietly among them; every one had his eye and his foot upon it, shouting and rejoicing as merrily as they used to do with their ale and bagpipes. Indeed, every one had this estimation of the service, that the main work had been done, and that what was yet behind was a mere pastime."

Rigby's circumstances now became hopeless. He had been scorned, mocked, and beaten in the ditch, and, to crown his mortification as well as his defeat, he had lost his mortar-piece, which had been of more use to him than either his skill or his soldiers. In this exigency, he applied for help to the deputy lieutenants of Lancashire, setting before them the usual complaint—want of money, and defalcation of troops.

COLONEL ALEXANDER RIGBY TO THE DEPUTY LIEUTENANTS OF LANCASHIRE.

GENTLEMEN,

THE siege of Latham House is a matter of great consequence to this whole county, and hath a further influence into other places; but herein I need not to enlarge myself to you, who better understand the state of this county and who are so much interested therein. This work was begun with the personal presence and assistance of Sir Thomas Fairfax and Colonel Ashton, and afterwards others were by his honour enjoined to Colonel Ashton and my assistance, and since, though Colonel Ashton and his forces

have been withdrawn from me, I have not enjoyed the assistance intended, so that thereby I have been destitute of means to get in monies to maintain the work, and enforced to borrow great and considerable sums of money, both upon my word and bond, for the public use. We have had many nights together alarms, and beaten them into the house six and seven times in a night, and by these alarms and great numbers in the house, and by our losses, my soldiers have been enforced some to watch and stand upon the guard in the trenches two nights together, and others two nights in four, in both which kind my son hath performed his duties as the meanest captain; and for myself I almost languish under the burden, having toiled above my strength. The length of the siege and the hard duties have wearied all the soldiers; many have departed without license, many of the volunteers of Leyland and Amounderness (though called) have forborne to come unto my aid, and divers of Colonel Moor's soldiers here with me have refused to do duties in times of necessity; and want of pay was their pretence.

Gentlemen, these things are but part of our sufferings. I have several times, in most earnest manner, implored many of you for aid, but not been so happy as to obtain necessary assistance from you. I am enforced (no other course being pleasing to me,) to appeal from you to you, desiring that you will be pleased to meet here, at Ormskirk, on Friday next, there to understand our condition: and either, which God forbid! to waive the work (pardon, I pray you, that expression, extorted by want of your aid), or else so to join in carrying it on, that it may proceed with your assistance: wherein I shall willingly assent that the honour thereof may be wholly yours, so that the benefit thereof may be that of the kingdom; and so, praying God to prosper this design, wherein I am

now engaged, and to preserve you and us and this whole county and kingdom from our enemies,

I remain, Your faithful servant,

ALEXANDER RIGBY.

Ormskirk, May 1st, 1644.

This appeal, which put the alternative plainly before the deputies, was quite useless. No succours came. The deputies had business of their own to attend to, and found that difficult enough. Every man, in fact, in Rigby's position, was left to work out his own salvation as he could, and to exercise his discretion as to fighting or flying. Rigby did not lose much time in making up his mind. A few weeks more of sallies and scrambles in the trenches, and then he raised the siege, and on the 27th May endeavoured to escape from the hands of Prince Rupert, who, with the Earl of Derby, was coming to relieve the Countess. Collecting his companions on a green in the neighbourhood, he was for some time in great incertitude which way to march in order to get clear of the Royalists, and finally determined on throwing himself into Bolton. This was the most dangerous point he could have selected. He had hardly got within the walls when he was surprised by Prince Rupert, who, surrounding the town, destroyed more than half the numbers of the Parliamentarians. In this memorable action the Countess was amply revenged. The Earl of Derby took the first colour that fell before the Royalists, and with his own hand cut down a man who had once been his servant, but

who had deserted with the intention of betraying his mistress, in the time of her greatest peril.

The Countess of Derby is said to have been the last person in the kingdom who submitted to the Parliament. Her husband was worthy of her heroic nature. His answer to Ireton, who made him large offers if he would surrender up the Isle of Man, is a memorable example of high courage and inflexible resolution :—"I scorn your proffers ; I disdain your favour ; I abhor your treason,"—and this, too, in July, 1649, with the King dead, and royalty in the coffin with him. In another passage of that curious document he showed a peremptory scorn and defiance, which recalls some of the replies of his beleaguered wife to the ill-mannered Rigby. "Take this for your final answer, and forbear any farther solicitations ; for, if you trouble me with any more messages of this nature, I will burn the paper and hang up the bearer." Whatever becomes of Causes and Rights in the strifes that spring up in their vindication, the world is bound to honour fidelity and true services wherever they appear, and especially when they are seen standing firm in the last hours of disaster. The Earl of Derby never wavered a jot, was taken prisoner at the battle of Worcester, and died upon the scaffold.

The following letters from Colonel Lambart, written while Sir Thomas Fairfax was before Lathom House, inform us of what was going forward in the North during that time, and how much the presence of the General was needed there :—

FOR MY TRULY HONOURABLE SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX, &c.

SIR,

THE last night I sent out a party of horse and foot, commanded by Captain Asquith, to fall upon the enemy's quarters at Hunstett, which accordingly was done, through God's assistance, with good success. We took some prisoners; Major Vavasour, Captain Hughes, Captain Cardhouse, Captain Laine, Captain Labourne, and Captain Talbot; three lieutenants, four gentlemen, about 200 common soldiers, besides some slain: and I bless God, without any loss on our part at all. Divers other of better quality very narrowly escaping. We all, in these parts, exceedingly long for and desire your appearance here, which, I am confident, were enough to clear these parts, if the opportunity be not slipped. General King is certainly at Durham, but I cannot tell with what force, but I fear lest his intentions may be for this country.

Sir, I desire you not to think my following lines tedious unto you, which are in the behalf of my chirurgeon, who, having spent all his chest at Nantwich, desires that you will be pleased to afford him some recruit. Sir, I beseech you pardon his tedious petition, who rests, Sir,

Your most faithful and humble servant,

JO. LAMBART.

Bradford, March 6th, 1643, [*N.S.* 1644.]

FOR MY MUCH RESPECTED FRIEND, MR. SECRETARY NICHOLAS, &c.

SIR,

THE reason of my address unto you, is, because I am informed by some of our friends and countrymen that Sir Thomas appointed so much money for us out of your store as would make our horse a month's pay, and because I

hear my general is in Cheshire, and the purse in your keeping. If you be acquainted with Sir Thomas's pleasure, I desire you will be pleased to disburse unto Mr. Hugh Carrier the said sum. I have sent you the number of our horses as they appeared the last muster, and since then they are increased something. I shall only trouble you farther with what news I hear. The Scots are certainly at Durham and Hartlepool, the latter whereof they fortify and settle a garrison. There hath lately been some blows, and the report goes by divers who came to us from them that Sir Richard Hutton's regiment is cut off. This you may credit, that many wounded soldiers are brought to York. My Lord General hath taken Stamford Bridge and some good ordnance. More of the particulars I cannot relate. The enemy is fortifying Tadcaster; and even now I hear that he is marched towards Leeds with eighteen colours of foot and the demi-cannon. I should not in the least kind have credited it, but that I know the relater to be very faithful, and reports that his friend saw it. We shall, to the best of our poor powers, endeavour to resist. God in his mercy do his pleasure with us! Sir, I must acknowledge many favours from you, and, in that acknowledgment, rest

Your obliged friend and servant,

JO. LAMBART.*

Bradford, March 11th, [*N.S.* 1644.]

The writer of these letters was one of the most active of the Parliamentarian generals. His activity (which Charles II. considered of the "mischievous" order) was not forgotten at the Restoration. By a sinister breach and evasion of the royal word, he was put upon his trial,

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

and found guilty, but respited from death at the bar. He survived his sentence thirty years ; but death would have been a cheaper doom. That long remainder of his life was passed in close prison in the island of Guernsey.

The condition of the country at this period, torn by dissention, and thrown into a position "fit to be conquered," as Mr. Lye describes it, may be gathered from a couple of stray epistles addressed to Mr., afterwards Sir Richard Browne, the English resident in Paris. Mr. Lye invites Mr. Browne, as a matter of ceremony, to visit him in Bristol ; but knowing how much pleasanter it was to drink wine in the Tuileries, and cultivate the good-will of handsome women in peace and quietness, than to swallow ditch-water and sleep under a hedge, he insinuates a hint that he would considerably prefer being invited to visit Mr. Browne in Paris. The Ranulphe, or Randolf Crewe, who writes the second letter, was the judge who, in 1626, was removed from his place for not promoting the loan. We find him now, eighteen years afterwards, so reduced in circumstances, that he is living upon credit. Sir Richard Browne, to whom these letters were addressed, appears to have been written to by every body, and to have received every body — fugitives included. After the death of the King, we find him still holding his appointment, and throwing open his doors to Sir Edward Nicholas, whose connection with him, Sir Edward being his wife's father, was hardly sufficient to cover the risk of entertaining so faithful a Royalist.

MONSIEUR BROWNE, RESIDENT POUR LE ROY DE LA GRANDE BRETAGNE, À PARIS.

SIR,

TROUBLES and restraint have taken up all my time since I had the honour to wait upon you in Paris; and truly between both, till this last week that I have been in this town of purpose to rejoice, I have had neither leisure nor opportunity to perform my promise with you. The last letter I received from you was the next day after the battle at Edgehill, wherein it seems fame had me a rebel at Paris; but before the receipt of it, not many hours, I had given sufficient testimony of my fidelity. I must humbly thank you, sir, for your remembrance; for had I been engaged on the other side, it would certainly have worked powerfully enough to have drawn me from them. I need not trouble you with the relation of any of our passages: you have them from better and more judicious observations. I can only tell you that we prepare on all sides to cut throats, and put the kingdom in a posture fit (for any one that will endeavour it) to be conquered. In the meantime you drink good wine at Paris, see the beauties upon the course, and refresh in your own home in the Tuileries, which in my opinion is better than drinking scurvy ale, marching all day in the wet or cold, and lying all night under a hedge. If you can away with that course of life, I will invite you into England; but truly I had rather receive and obey yours for Paris, where I will be next winter if I outlive the summer. My service to your lady.

Sir, I am,

Your affectionate, humble servant,

WALT. LYE.*

Bristol, March 26th, 1644.

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

Sir,—I beseech you do me the favour to send the inclosed by the next post to Rome, and recommend it to the College of English Jesuits, to be sent, according to the directions, to Prussia.

TO MY WORTHY FRIEND, SIR RICHARD BROWNE, BARONET, AGENT FOR THE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, AT PARIS.

SIR,

I WRIT to you by the last, not then knowing the favour the King had done to you. It seems now there be mutual preparations and resolutions to fight. This *plusq. civile bellum* must be put to the bloody issue. I mourn and groan to think of it. God, for his mercy's sake, look upon our miseries! If you saw the counties—how devastated, how impoverished, how defaced, it would grieve you. It is well it is out of your eye, howbeit it be familiar to your ear. The text sways much with me,—"if it be possible, have peace with all men;" and would to God mine eyes might be closed in the days of peace. I still thank you for my youth, for whom I wish my friend's assistance to make him a man, for he is in my love and my care, and I shall rest,

Your affectionate friend and servant,

RANULPHE CREWE.

10*th April*, 1644.

I myself receive nothing of my revenue, and have been plundered to a great value; the little that my son hath for him and his son is so impaired, that it will in nowise maintain them, and I protest I know not how to supply but upon credit the means of my subsisting, and yet I hope my credit shall not fail.*

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

Sir Richard Browne was a distinguished citizen of London, which he represented in Parliament, and a hot-brained Presbyterian. He was prominent in the outbreak of the civil war; accompanied Essex to the field; fought at Worcester, and Edgehill, and other places; and acquired such a reputation for zeal and devotion to the cause, that he was appointed one of the commissioners from the Scotch army to receive the King. It is a strange and confounding slide of the magic lantern which now suddenly brings this Sir Richard Browne before us representing in Paris the King against whom he had been so recently engaged in open rebellion. But, in these times, we tread on a volcanic soil, and must not be surprised at any changes wrought by its convulsive throes. The interviews which the commissioners had with the King are said to have converted Browne back to his allegiance. Whether it was that his Majesty's dialectics gave him the advantage over the commissioners, or that Browne had reason to suspect the concealed designs of the Independents, does not appear; but, from that time, he became a faithful adherent of the monarchy, and continued so to the end. He next appears as resident for the King at Paris; and a couple of letters addressed to him in 1643, soon after his appointment, by the unfortunate Elector Palatine, will indicate the influence he then enjoyed. The Elector, thinking more of his own affairs than of his correspondent, gives the German orthography of Mr. Browne's name.

FOR MR. BRAUN, THE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN'S RESIDENT IN FRANCE.

SIR,

SINCE your constant good professions towards my interests, accompanied with the King your master's orders, have made me confident enough of your readiness to employ them for the benefit of my affairs at the French Court, and therefore rendered any request of mine to that purpose superfluous; yet, to show you how considerable your good offices are unto me, I cannot also, on my part, omit to desire you to let this be their scope; that the French ministers designed for the general treaty may be particularly instructed to urge my restitution, according to the year 1618, and to insert it as an article of the general peace, my adversaries themselves avowing it to be a necessary ingredient thereof. I shall leave to your own dexterity and affection to my cause to represent how much it will be for France's honour and interest to procure it, wherein you will oblige me exceedingly; and I shall omit no occasion wherein I may testify how sensible I shall be of it, and so I rest

Your very affectionate friend,

CHARLES,

Hague, this 5th of June, 1643. Prince Elector Palatine.*

FOR MR. BRAUN, THE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN'S RESIDENT IN FRANCE.

SIR,

I WISH the effects of the French professions towards my affairs may give me as full satisfaction as your endeavours, so well expressed in your memorial, to obtain them have obliged me to assure you of my thankful acknowledgment;

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

which I can express no other way than this, until the effects of their good intentions, concurring with your constant solicitation, may render me able to show it more really, whilst, in the meantime, I rest

Your most affectionate friend,

CHARLES,

Hague, 20th of July, 1643. Prince Elector Palatine.*

About this time John Evelyn, whose pastoral and timid spirit had been scared out of England by the first roar of artillery, was travelling on the Continent, and, finding himself in Paris, became intimate at the house of Sir Richard Browne—the "home in the Tuileries"—the tranquillity of which was so much envied by Mr. Lye. It is rather a remarkable "coincidence," with a startling contradiction in it, that it was a namesake of our gentle "English Peiresc," as John Evelyn is called, who first brought gunpowder to perfection in England; and that, at this very time, another namesake of his, the member for Blechingley, was taking an active part against the King in the civil war. But we must not snap our little thread of narrative. Sir Richard Browne had a daughter, and Evelyn fell in love with her, and was married to her at the Embassy. Of this lady, Cowley said, in one of his complimentary conceits, (alluding to the two pursuits which chiefly engaged

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection. Soon after the date of this letter the Elector returned to England, upon whose bounty he had long subsisted. He alone of all the members of his family abandoned the Royal cause, and joined the Parliament.

Evelyn's thoughts, gardening and reading,) that she had

> "The fairest garden in her looks,
> And in her mind the choicest books."

It is a more interesting memorial of this lady, that it was through her Evelyn became possessed of Sayes Court. Sir Richard survived all the troubles, was knighted and baronetted, and had the honour of commanding the city militia, and filling the office of lord mayor of London in the eventful year of 1660.

The movements in the West began now to assume for a time even more importance than the variable warfare in the North, where the arrival of the Scotch, under the Earl of Leven, combined with the powerful demonstration of the associated counties under the Earl of Manchester, produced a temporary feeling of security. The conduct of affairs in the West had been committed to Sir William Waller, who displayed consummate skill in the feints by which he diverted the attention and perplexed the plans of the Royalists, hovering between his Majesty's troops and those of Prince Rupert, to prevent their junction; and instead of pursuing his march direct into the far west—the intention of which was known, and might have been frustrated—keeping about the small towns and villages of Worcestershire, to watch his Majesty, who, having prorogued the Parliament at Oxford, had taken up his quarters in Newbury and that neighbourhood, for a similar purpose. They were watching each other. But Waller had the advan-

tage of the single hand, and the single head, against a stronger camp, weakened by divided councils. On the King's side there was deaf, drunken Brentford, who was general over all the rest; hot, imperious Wilmot; honest, irresolute Hopton; soldierly Astley, who hated long debates, and thought the best remedy lay in the sword; and Digby and Colepepper, two privy councillors, who, though of the most different natures, says Clarendon, always agreed in their opinions. Out of these elements it was impossible to extract concord, and the King was constantly kept in collision with his friends as well as his enemies. The result was a sudden discursive flight back to Oxford, demolishing in their march the works of the garrison at Reading—which place (*en parenthèse*) was entered by Waller's soldiers the next day. His Majesty did not stay long at Oxford, as will be seen presently by a letter, from Sir William Waller, to the generals in command.

This letter was addressed to the Scotch General and the Earl of Manchester, because Essex was already out of favour with the Parliament. They had found him impracticable, and, under some plausible excuses, had formed that association of counties, with the Earl at its head, and Cromwell under him in the command of the horse, which, united with the Scotch, and taking their orders direct from the Parliament, virtually superseded Essex. This combined force held the North. There was also a distinct force under Essex, and a third, in the West, under Waller. By the great means thus

organised at their disposal, they hoped to bring the war to a close before the end of the summer.

These designs were kept close from Essex, who never knew what he was to be required to do till the moment of execution arrived. His orders were then peremptory. Nothing was left to his discretion. Upon the King's return to Oxford his instructions were to follow his Majesty wherever he went. This instruction he fulfilled with sufficient energy, tracking the King's footsteps through Derbyshire, and forcing him to concentrate his troops at Oxford, where he shut him up. Various rumours were spread abroad: one, that the King was planning an escape to London; another, that he had fallen into the hands of Essex. These rumours produced dismay in Westminster; and such was the jealousy and distrust of Essex that the Parliament instantly wrote to him, desiring him to procure accurate information concerning his Majesty, and to *do nothing*.

In his extremity, pent up in the collegiate walls of Oxford, with Waller on one side, and Essex on the other, nothing was left for the King but flight, and his escape was effected with considerable tact. Leaving his banner flying from the old tower, as if he were still there, he stole out of the north gate at nine o'clock at night, and joining his horse and foot who awaited at a distance to receive him, he marched through the two lines of the beleaguering armies, and before daybreak was many miles beyond their outposts. The Earl of Essex sending the next

morning to reconnoitre was deceived by the banner, so that the King got two days' march a-head of him. But Waller had better intelligence, and sent a body of horse flying after the King to hang upon his rear and harass his progress until he could come up himself. At Burford, they nearly caught the fugitives, and were so close upon them that they fell in with some stragglers from the ranks of the Royalists, who had lingered to drink or sleep in the village. Notwithstanding the vigilance of Waller, he was still a few hours too late, and the King finally escaped with the echoes of the pursuers' hoofs ringing in his ears. Waller's letter refers to the flight and pursuit :—

FOR HIS EXCELLENCY THE EARL OF LEVEN, AND THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF MANCHESTER, AND THE LORD FAIRFAX, HUMBLY PRESENT THIS.

MY MOST HONOURED LORDS,

I HAVE given your lordships several advertisements of my condition here, with the unfeigned zeal I have to do you service, and to correspond with you on all occasions. I signified in my former the reason of my lying at Stourbridge, his Majesty being at Bewdley; which was to interpose between him and Prince Rupert, in case he should offer to advance for that end to Shrewsbury, whither I had a shorter way on this side the river than his Majesty had on that; but, contrary to my expectation, on Saturday last his Majesty suddenly dislodged, and retired to Worcester. I durst not suddenly move after him, for fear it had been but a feint to make me

lose that ground I had; but his Majesty's intentions were real, for the next day he marched away to and through Evesham, and broke the bridge behind him,* as likewise Bidford Bridge, and halted a while on Broadway Hill, and from thence directed his course to Burford, so that I make no question but he is now very well in Oxford again.

So soon as I received assurance of his Majesty's departure from Worcester I rose, and leaving my foot to march gently after, with two regiments of horse to secure them, I advanced with the rest of my horse and dragoons after him to Evesham, twenty-two miles distant; but when I came thither, I found that his Majesty had gained above twenty miles before me, so that I conceived I should but ruin my horse to pursue him farther, and therefore gave over the chace. We have taken some prisoners, amongst them Colonel Skirmshay, with letters of very great importance. The copy of one I have sent inclosed.

I humbly suppose, his Majesty being now gone, that I shall not be able to act anything in these parts to correspond with your service; and therefore, according to the orders I have received from the Committee of both Kingdoms, I am directing my course westward. I conceive it might be of some use if there were a way settled for a constant intelligence between us, and a cypher appointed whereby there might be a mutual conveyance of matters of secrecy and importance. I should be glad to receive some directions to that purpose by the hand of this worthy gentleman, Major

* This was the second bridge his Majesty had destroyed on his flight. The first was at Pershore. On that occasion unfortunately the whole of the troops had not passed over when the demolition took place, and three or four officers and about twenty men were precipitated into the Avon by the sudden falling of one of the arches, and drowned.

SIR WILLIAM WALLER.

Major General of the Parliamentary Army

ENGRAVED BY JOSEPH BROWN, FROM AN EXCEEDINGLY RARE PRINT BY

ROUTTERMONDT AFTER CORNELIUS JANSENS

... I have no more to trouble your Lordships with ... but the humble assurance that I am,

My Lords,

Your most humble servant,

W[illegible]

London, June 18th, 1644.

... by some intercepted letters, I find that ... powder extremely.

... was in error in supposing ... any intention of advancing ... He had no intention of doing ... to escape, and it vexed his ... be even that.

Waller's expression of his anxiety to ... his ... in the West, and to establish a ... with the generals, implied an ... which ... well understood by those to whom it ... He had been coerced by Essex, and had ... to the Parliament of the usage he ... When the King had got off out of ... of Essex, his lordship (not caring ... to ... upon others the responsibility of his own neglect) ... a council, at which it was resolved that ... should follow the King wherever he went ... ordered to set out to the relief of ... Waller ... this arrangement, declaring that the West was ... assigned to him by the committee as his province. But ... was peremptory, and Waller, compelled to ... laid the case before Parliament, who in the

Kerr. I have no more to trouble your lordships with at present, but the humble assurance that I am,

My Lords,
Your most humble servant,
WILLIAM WALLER.

Evesham, June 18th, 1644.

By some intercepted letters, I find that Prince Rupert wants powder extremely.

Waller was in error in supposing that the King entertained any intention of advancing towards Shrewsbury. He had no intention of doing anything except trying to escape, and it taxed his resources to the last to do even that.

Waller's expression of his anxiety to prosecute his duties in the West, and to establish a means of communication with the generals, implied an allusion which was well understood by those to whom it was addressed. He had been coerced by Essex, and had already complained to the Parliament of the usage he had suffered. When the King had got off out of Oxford, two days a-head of Essex, his lordship (not unwilling perhaps to shift upon others the responsibility of his own neglect) called a council, at which it was resolved that Waller should follow the King wherever he went, while Essex proposed to set out to the relief of Lyme. Waller resisted this arrangement, declaring that the West was assigned to him by the committee as his province. But Essex was peremptory, and Waller, compelled to submit, laid the case before Parliament, who immediately

forwarded an angry letter to Essex, desiring him to obey their former directions, and to direct Waller to attend the service of the West. To these instructions he sent back a bold answer—refusing to comply with their orders. He certainly stated as an excuse that he had already set out on his march, and that if he returned it would be an encouragement to the enemy : there was reason in this, but his general deportment was so overbearing that the Parliament were not willing to give him credit for being reasonable, even when he happened to deserve it, which was not often. Courage as a soldier was his great merit ; his great defect was want of discretion and vigilance as a commander of soldiers.

Of all parts of the kingdom, during the pressure of these costly efforts of the Parliament, London appears to have borne the burthen of voluntary and involuntary taxation more cheerfully than any other place. Nor was this because London was richer than other places, but because it was sounder at the core. When the Scots crossed the border it was found necessary to issue an ordinance for raising subscriptions to maintain them ; the counties, however, were so tardy in their advances that a second ordinance was put forth to compel payment. Even this menace failed in some cases, and the Goldsmiths' Hall was obliged to follow it up with a letter, in which the example of London was referred to, in the hope of shaming the lingering counties into compliance. Here is the letter, which was probably a circular for the defaulters :—

JOHN ASHE, BY ORDER OF THE COMMITTEE AT GOLDSMITHS' HALL, TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE COUNTY OF ———, ABOUT THE LOAN TO PARLIAMENT.

WORSHIPFUL AND HONOURED FRIENDS,

I AM commanded by the committee of Goldsmiths' Hall to let you know that they have long expected a good sum of money from your county for the payment of our brethren of Scotland, come into England for our help and assistance. The committee have been driven to great extremities for that you have been so slow. It is hoped that now every week you will send up or return a very considerable sum, until such time as the sum of 18,000*l.* be made up, for that is your proportion to the 200,000*l.*

It was hoped by the Parliament that, when the first ordinance passed for the free and voluntary loans, there would have been no need of the second, to compel men to lend; and indeed, in London, we have made very little use of the second; for upon the payment of 80,000*l.*, which is the City's proportion, we shall not bring in use the compulsory way much above 10,000*l.* All the rest, to wit, 70,000*l.*, will be paid voluntarily upon the first ordinance; for the second ordinance is only to compel the backward, ill-affected. But if your county shall prove so far ill-affected as that they must be wholly compelled, you may then expect speedily another ordinance to compel the payment of the residue. Wherefore I pray observe the advice and direction of our clerk, Mr. Sampson, whom we sent down of purpose to hasten the work, and to show you the way we have gone. He complains for want of a sufficient allowance to defray his charges. We hope that

you will not suffer him to want that is come so far to do you service; but I shall forbear, and rest

Your loving friend,

JOHN ASHE.*

London, April 10th, 1644.

The war spread rapidly over the kingdom. Essex had gone into Dorsetshire, and taken possession of Weymouth, by invitation of the mutinous townspeople; Waller had left Worcestershire, and, after a variety of fruitless manœuvres, had the misfortune to see his army vanishing before him, without the power to stay or recruit them; and the King's troops, flushed with an imaginary success at Cropredy-bridge, had the hardihood to contemplate a campaign in the West, whither they went, avowedly in pursuit of Essex, although the mean jealousies and bickerings of the generals, exasperated by the favouritism of the Sovereign, threatened the whole body with hourly dissolution. His Majesty had hardly advanced two days on his march when he received intelligence which paralysed him. Fearful disasters had fallen upon his supporters in the North, where the battle was already fought, the result of which shadowed forth his own fate. The coming of that event is anticipated by a hasty intimation, written between one and two o'clock in the morning, from a Parliament officer to the Earl of Manchester:—

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF MANCHESTER,
THESE HUMBLY PRESENT.

My Lord,

Our intelligence from divers places agreeing that the enemy's horse and foot did advance this day towards Otley, and quarter there and the towns thereabouts this night, hath occasioned us to draw all our horse of both nations into a body upon the moor close by Long Marston, within five miles of York, where now we are, expecting what further orders we shall receive from your lordship and the other generals.

My Lord, I humbly offer this, that exact orders might be sent to my Lord Fairfax's troops that are in general parts of this country to march up either to us or you, that they may not by their absence be made useless. The Lieutenant-General commanded me to send this express to your lordship, being in expectation to hear your lordship's further resolutions. My Lord, I am

Your lordship's most humble servant,

Leon. Watson.*

Long Marston, this 30th of June, 1644.
Between one and two o'clock in the morning.

The enemy's whole body is about 15,000.

The anticipation here expressed turned out to be quite accurate: the battle took place on the evening of the second day after Watson's letter was written. The haste in which this decisive engagement was begun and

* Probably secretary to Cromwell, under whose instructions this letter appears to have been written.

won may be seen in the shortness of the notice, and the promptitude with which the troops gathered and took up their position upon the plain of Long Marston. There was so much time consumed in preliminary movements, that the day was spent before firing opened, and the soldiers fought into the night, when the whole force of the Royalists, consisting, according to Watson, of 15,000, but estimated by most other authorities at 20,000, were dispersed like chaff, or cut to pieces. The Marquis of Newcastle's foot were literally destroyed by Sir Thomas Fairfax and Cromwell at the head of their horse; and so signal was his lordship's defeat and disgrace, that, without drawing rein, he fled to the sea-shore, and, taking the first vessel that offered, a poor crazy boat, set sail for Hamburgh. This proud beaten marquis, whose vanity and indiscretion helped materially to ruin the King's cause, did not see the shores of England again for sixteen years! Here was ample revenge for the disaster of Addeston Moor, where, exactly twelve months before, the Marquis of Newcastle obtained a victory (for a long time doubtful) over Lord Fairfax.

Amidst the immediate consequences of the triumph at Marston Moor were the surrender of Sheffield castle and the city of York. Respecting the spoils of the former (about which there seems to have been some very pitiful evasions attempted) we have the subjoined appeal from the Earl of Manchester to Lord Fairfax:—

FOR HIS EXCELLENCY THE LORD FAIRFAX, THESE.

My Lord,

Upon the surrender of Sheffield Castle (as I am informed) it was agreed by my commanders in chief here, and Colonel Bright and other Yorkshire gentlemen, that there should be an inventory taken of all arms, provisions, and other things in the Castle to them, that a moderate sum might be allowed for gratification of the soldiers for their service; and so to have all the arms and other things left entire in the Castle. After which there was an agreement signed that 500*l.* should be paid to the soldiers by Colonel Bright, and so he to enter upon all things which we found at first in the Castle, save a hundred muskets and some other things, which they were to bring along with them, the other goods and arms left in the Castle being of far greater value. According to which agreement Colonel Bright was to pay the next morning 250*l.*, and the other 250*l.* was to be paid out of a parcel of iron found in the Castle, which had been sold by some officers of mine.

Now I understand by Colonel Copley that the said iron had been fetched from his mills by the King's party, and that my officers had taken for the service against the Castle cannon bullet, which they commanded to be cast there to the value of 100*l.*; and therefore his expectation is to receive the monies for which that iron was sold, and satisfaction for the said bullets. I humbly desire your lordship to take it into your consideration, and endeavour his satisfaction according to justice. There being no reason why restitution from me should be expected for either the iron or bullets, receiving no more than a moderate gratification for

the soldiers, agreed upon, as appears by the copy of the agreement which I have caused to be delivered unto him; and which 500*l.* is desired to extend no further than giving each officer and soldier of mine in that service one week's pay.

I leave the premises to your lordship's grave consideration, and remain,

Your lordship's most humble servant,

E. MANCHESTER.

Lincoln, August 24th, 1644.

No man was better entitled to plead and to be heard for the soldier than the Earl of Manchester. All through this war he had shared their fatigues, without indulging in any of those voluptuous reservations to which the Marquis of Newcastle used to fly for relief. This city of Lincoln, from which he writes in August, he had taken by storm in the preceding April. Yet for all his laurels, there fell out dissensions between him and Cromwell, whose energies were of a more fiery order; and these dissensions became more and more loud and angry, until they terminated in a grave charge of backwardness and disinclination to fight preferred against Manchester by Cromwell on the floor of the Commons. Of all charges which could have been brought against Manchester, this of a disinclination to fight was the most untenable: witness Edgehill, Lynn, Horncastle. But it was quite true that after the battle of Marston Moor, which utterly broke up the King's power, with the exception of the remnant that followed his Majesty in his wanderings up and down in search of

Essex, and after the capitulation of York, which swept the North pretty clear of the Royalists, Manchester thought that enough had been done to show where the strength lay, and that something better than fighting might be attempted to bring about a settlement profitable to both sides. Cromwell, on the other hand, was for striking a decisive blow in the field, for he held that a "thorough" victory, which should split the heart of royalty, was the only means of closing the war with permanent advantage to religion and liberty. There was no want of decision, or energy, or zeal in Manchester, but he was opposed to the extremity which Cromwell had foreseen and laboured for from the beginning. Cromwell felt the necessity of getting rid of all men who stood at this dead-lock of policy; and he was right. He laid his measures securely to that end, and by the following April he relieved the country of the hesitating fealty of Manchester, Essex, and Denbigh.

The new modelling of the army, and the appointment of Sir Thomas Fairfax to the supreme command placed the Parliament on firmer ground than they had ever occupied before. A part of their security lay in the popularity of the commanders. With the principal exception—Fairfax, who was not yet quite a lord—they were nearly all men of the people, sprung from the loins of the people, familiar with their wishes, and intimately identified with their interests. *The lords were gone*, and the cause was now left to be worked out by the muscles and stout hearts of the eager millions, for whom

Kings never had much sympathy, and who had now for the first time, and to set a great example to the world, taken in hand the question of human rights as it lay perplexed and obscured between sovereigns and subjects.

There was much of this, too, in the quarrel of Cromwell with Manchester. It was not altogether on the one side that Manchester refused to pursue the King, notwithstanding the urgent remonstrances of his Lieutenant-General, or on the other that Cromwell had treated with sarcasm and contempt the order of his commander; but that a new party was growing up which looked upon certain connections as a blot and hindrance, and which was uneasy at the core until it had purified the cause of all association with "lords." It was the "lordship" of Manchester that chiefly gravelled Cromwell, who thought of nothing but shaping his means to his end, and would have made more violent sacrifices to achieve it, had they been necessary. How Cromwell carried his purpose, and what iron nerve, clear forethought and practical brains he had, the imperishable history he lived testifies.

As for Manchester, he went into private life, and kept there till the Restoration, at which he "assisted," was appointed Speaker of the Peers to congratulate the King on his return, was made Commissioner of the Great Seal, Lord Chamberlain, and Lord of the Bedchamber, to the "chartered libertine" of that gay revival, and died full of age, in a strange place for a Parliamentary-General—Whitehall. But his death-bed was haunted

by no headless spectre, for he had all along been opposed to the execution of the King.

The Montagues, from whom he descended, appear to have always hung about the Court, and preserved themselves in high places; and it was the greater merit in the General to have stepped so far out of the family wake as to take part with the people. It is possible that the tradition of his Norman blood—for he was one of those who "came in with the Conqueror,"—and the reputation of the family for numerous inter-marriages, and consequent quarterings on the public purse, did not serve him when Cromwell thrust out his hand upon him. His great-grandfather had been married three times, and was one of the executors of Henry the Eighth; his father had also married three times, and held a variety of offices; he was married himself no less than five times, and towards the end had the usual family luck of fat appointments about the palace. It was his father who was Lord Treasurer, and who bought his staff of office at Newmarket, from the Countess of Buckingham, for 20,000*l.* It turned out an unfortunate bargain, for he was removed within a year; in consequence of which, on his return to London, somebody was malicious enough to ask him—"Whether he did not find wood extremely dear at Newmarket?"

But, to return from this digression.

The Battle of Marston Moor drove the Queen out of the kingdom. The Prince of Orange sent some Dutch ships to wait upon her at Falmouth, and in one of these

she transported herself precipitately to France, scarcely a month having elapsed since she had given birth to the Princess Henrietta. She had a narrow escape for her life in the channel, being pursued so closely by the stragglers of the Parliament fleet, that one frigate discharged several shots into her vessel. But the wind, of which she had the advantage, saved her. At the date of the following letter, she had already arrived at Brest. Gilbert Talbot seems to have been employed about her secret business. His correspondent was probably Sir Richard Browne. Lord Goring, who is here alluded to, was put upon his trial four years after, and was rescued from the block by the casting vote of Lenthal, the Speaker.

LETTER OF GILBERT TALBOT.

WORTHY SIR,

I HAVE this morning received your packet of the 24th, which challengeth my thanks, and this return. I arrived here on the 25th, and the same morning hired a frigate for Falmouth, which expecteth nothing but a wind; although I confess I yet expect my man and my trunk, whom I sent hither a month ago to wait my coming, but in all this town I can hear no news of him, and therefore I have sent a post to Rennes to inquire after him. If I hear not of him to-morrow by the return of my messenger, I shall bequeath him to the devil, but not lose my journey for him; although I must confess I shall go poor and naked without him, for he hath my money, my clothes, and the Queen's letters: even my

Dutchman Mr. Church begged from me till my return to Paris, so that I am all alone, and comfortless; but in your friendly remembrance of me, and your lady's, whose indisposition I much bewail.

I make bold to trouble you with a great weight of inclosures; that of most consequence is my Lord Germain's, which importeth the preservation or loss of the Castle of Guernsey, for Sir Peter Osborne is almost famished for want of supplies, and that which causeth great suspicion is that his lady is gone eight days since to London, in a Parliament ship. I have entreated his son (whom I found here) to steal over to his father, and convey him a handful of provisions, that may keep him in heart till my Lord Germain can procure him some supplies from Jersey, or these parts of France; and I may be able to represent to the King the exigency wherein he is at present. Good sir, send away that letter with all possible speed. The next is that to Madame Grotius, with whom I desire you to strike up an acquaintance, but seem not to know anything of the main business.

There is a Dunkirk frigate belonging to a Frieslander, naturalised English, and enabled by his Majesty's commission to take all rebels' ships, who is arrested for an unlawful prize, and is in danger of losing his ship. I have advised him to send you a short draught of his case, that you may assist him, and make him handsomely acknowledge the courtesy; but he is neglectful, and I will not press him to his own good. I have learned from him that the Irish have an agent at Paris, whose name is Dr. Hartecome; I leave it to you whether it may concern your knowledge and the King's service to inquire after him and his treaties.

We have here no news at all, but a murmur of a battle in

the West, which I conceive is begotten by conjecture, for no shipping is come from those parts these eight days. I can tell you, betwixt you and me, that my Lord Goring let fall some words at parting which make me believe that he will not stir till his letters of revocation be renewed. My best service to your sweet lady, to my little wife, and all our friends; and let me beg this favour of you, that you will esteem me as I do myself,

Your most humble, faithful, and
obliged servant,
GILB. TALBOT.*

St. Malo, 27th August, 1644.

My humblest service to Prince Edward, with my service to my Lady Banbury. I pray you tell her why I did not send her ring.

Soon after the surrender of York, Sir Thomas Fairfax addressed himself to the reduction of Helmesley Castle, one of the strongholds of the county. In Colonel Crosland, the governor of the castle, he found a brave and honourable opponent. Numerous sallies, without much effect at either side except wounds and waste of ammunition, led at last to a proposal of surrender. In one of these deadly onslaughts, Fairfax received a musket-ball in his shoulder, and was carried off all but dead to York, where for some time he vibrated fearfully between life and death. Colonel Crosland drew up the terms of surrender himself, conceived in a high military spirit,

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

and agreed to by Fairfax. The castle poured out its garrison accordingly with colours flying, drums beating, and matches lighted, on the 22nd November.

PROPOSITIONS DESIRED BY COLONEL CROSLAND, GOVERNOR OF HELMESLEY CASTLE, CONCERNING THE SURRENDERING THEREOF.

1. That the Governor of the Castle and all other the officers shall march out with their arms, horses, and all the rest of their goods belonging unto them, and to be safely convoyed to the garrison at Scarborough, without any molestation.

2. That the soldiers shall march out with their arms loaded, matches lighted, colours flying, and drums beating, and to be safely convoyed to the said garrison.

3. That the gentlemen, or others the countrymen, that came hither for protection, may have free liberty to depart with their goods, unto their own dwellings, and to have my Lord Fairfax's protection for their safeguard.

4. That the Lady Duchess of Buckingham's goods within the Castle, her servants and their goods, may remain safe within the Castle, or the town of Helmesley, under my Lord Fairfax's protection, as they have been formerly without interruption.

5. That any goods within the Castle belonging to any gentleman in the country, or to any other whatsoever, may have three days' time after the surrender thereof for the disposing of them, and to have my Lord Fairfax's protection for their convoy.

6. That there may be carriages procured for the conveying

of two little drakes, arms and other baggage along with them, unto the garrison before mentioned.

7. That the Castle of Helmesley be absolutely demolished, and that no garrison hereafter be kept there by either party.

8. That in performance of these articles, Lieutenant Colonel Forbes, and all the rest of the prisoners, shall have their free liberty; and that Lieutenant Spright, and five soldiers belonging to me, now prisoners at York, shall likewise have their liberty.

9. And lastly, that there be time given until the 16th day of this month, for to consider of these articles, in case there might be relief had in that time from the Prince, otherwise we shall perform these articles on our part.

JOR. CROSLAND.

Helmesley Castle, November 6th, 1644.

The time of the Fairfaxes was not wholly occupied in ditches and ramparts. They had a great deal of civil and uncivil business on hand besides, and sometimes had to do with Church affairs, which, considering their noisier occupations and the sturdiness of their prejudices, was probably the most disagreeable part of their functions. We have a bundle of letters from Lord Howard about the presentation to the living of Wheldrake, which he was anxious to procure for a Mr. Tindall; and after importuning Lord Fairfax grievously upon the subject, and finally succeeding in obtaining the appointment, it turned out that Mr. Tindall could not undertake the journey, so that his lordship's intercession went for nothing, except to impose a great deal of useless trouble upon Lord Fairfax.

The Doctor Peter du Moulin, whose sequestered benefice was so eagerly looked after by Lord Howard, may be noted chiefly as a zealous Calvinist, and as the author of a book which made a great tumult in its day, and which was intended to rouse the indignation of the whole world against the Parliament that put the King to death, but which book the world has entirely forgotten, although it has a vivid recollection of the King's "martyrdom." Upon a page of a copy of this book, which is called "Histoire des Nouveaux Presbyteriens Anglois et Escossais," preserved in the library of Christ Church, Canterbury, there is a curious MS. statement in the handwriting of Du Moulin, in which, after telling us that he had made a vow that, as far as Latin and French could go in the world, he would make the King's cause known, he gives this account of the book itself:—"To pay my vow I first made this book, which was begun at York during the siege in a roome whose chimney was beaten down by the canon while I was at my work; and after the siege, and my expulsion from my rectory at Wheldrake, it was finisht in an underground cellar, where I lay hid to avoid warrants that were out against me from committees to apprehend me, and carry me prisoner to Hull. Having finisht the book, I sent it to be printed in Holland by the means of an officer of the master of the portes at London, Mr. Pompeo Calandrini, who was doing great and good services to the King in that place. But the King being dead, and the face of publique

businesses altered, I sent for my manuscript out of Holland, and reformed it for the new King's service. And it was printed, but very negligently, by Samuel Browne, at the Haghe." And the "new King" was not unmindful of all this hiding in cellars, and writing in canonaded rooms, for suffering Peter leaped into Whitehall the moment his Majesty was restored, and had his revenge upon the hide-and-seek of the Commonwealth in the shape of a private chaplaincy at the palace, and a prebendal stall at Canterbury, upon whose downy cushions he fell asleep in the eighty-fourth year of his age, but not, however, says Dr. Burnet, till he had recanted many of the staunch opinions he had made such a noise about.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE AND MY VERY NOBLE FRIEND, THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT YORK, THESE PRESENT.

My Lord,

I am advertised that upon some complaints, and just articles exhibited against Doctor Du Moulins, rector of the church in Wheldrake, that the standing committee at York have sequestered the profits of his benefice, and intend to eject him of the same, giving your lordship fit opportunity to commend another; wherein, my lord, I beseech you consider me thus far, that having the right of presentation at other times belonging unto me, and at this present a chaplain, very orthodoxal, to deserve it, that your lordship will please to allow me the like favour you have done my Lord Northumberland and some others, as to nominate him, when

Du Moulins is rejected, which I shall take for an act of great kindness done me, and be ready on all occasions to requite your lordship with the best endeavours of,

My lord,
Your lordship's most affectionate friend
and humble servant,

ED. HOWARD.

Kirk House, by Charing Cross, 15th November, 1644.

FROM LORD HOWARD TO LORD FAIRFAX.

MY LORD,

ACCORDING to your letter and favour therein expressed to me, I here return you, with my most humble service, the name of the gentleman formerly recommended by me for the rectory of Wheldrake. He is called Mr. Tindall, a Bachelor in Divinity, and Fellow of Corpus Christi College, in Cambridge, whom by long experience I have known to be a man of unreproachable life, sufficient learning and consciousness to serve God in any place he shall be called unto. Yet, my lord, notwithstanding all this, I would not prejudice the present incumbent by any motion of mine. But, if he be lawfully ejected, I then beseech your lordship that I may present the aforesaid gentleman to your favour, having as clear a right to the rectory, upon a vacancy, as to any foot of land there, which by my patent, shown to Mr. Darley and Captain Harrison, appeareth, and I hope will be testified by them, with some respect then made known to your lordship, and here again renewed by protesting myself,

Your most affectionate friend and humble servant,

ED. HOWARD.

Kirk House, this 10th December, 1644.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE AND MY VERY GOOD LORD, THE LORD FAIRFAX, THESE PRESENT, AT YORK.

My Lord,

Your second answer to my letter sent to your lordship, about the rectory of Wheldrake, doth double your lordship's favour to me; yet before your last came unto my hands I had, in all observance to your lordship's first letter, signified how that Mr. Darley and Captain Harrison had seen my patent, under the Greek Seal of England, wherein the presentation to the rectory at Wheldrake is past unto me (from his Majesty) in the most legal and exactest word that can be expressed; which I hope your lordship, ere this, hath received satisfaction in to clear all doubt concerning my title; and likewise, according to your lordship's direction, I nominated the minister, Mr. Tindall, whom I desire may be presented; assuring myself, that the testimonies I then gave him, both for ability and conversation, ... by all that know him. This my lord is all I can the present, until your lordship please to signify your further pleasure concerning this matter; and then my lord just as you direct, be ready with all obedience to express myself,

Your lordship's most humble servant,

Ed. Howard.

Kirk House, by Charing Cross, 17th December.

LORD HOWARD TO LORD FAIRFAX.

My Lord,

Upon all returns your lordship still evidences a full discovery of favour to me, which I shall always keep in remembrance, and wait occasions to express my thankful-

ness. Yet, my lord, to give answer to your lordship's last letter, dated the 23rd of September, I have acquainted Mr. Tindall with your intent thereof, who is very willing to close with the opportunity and hasten the undertaking of the cure, but for the present is unhappily engaged to attend business for some part of the next term, and therefore hath earnestly intimated to me to move your lordship for some respite, which, if your lordship shall think inconvenient, I shall without further delay apply myself to your lordship's next intimation, and in the mean time crave pardon that I have thus often importuned your lordship's trouble, being so desirous to appear

Your lordship's most humble servant,

ED. HOWARD.

Kirk House, this 7th of January, 1644. [*N. S.* 1645.]

LORD HOWARD TO LORD FAIRFAX.

MY HONOURED LORD,

I LATELY made it my request to your lordship, by Mr. Darley, that you would please to respite for some little time the Wheldrake Church until that Mr. Tindall had disengaged of some employment in these parts. But since truly weighing how much I have trespassed upon your lordship's goodness, and that his undispatch from hence may hinder the instruction of the people there, I now wholly refer it to your lordship's pleasure to dispose it to what other worthy person you shall think fit; beseeching that he who is preferred may acknowledge your lordship's favour, with preservation of my title, that so I may thereby be engaged to do him what other courtesies lie in my power. I shall not trouble your lordship further in this business, since the gentleman I

nominated, full of worth to do service in the Church, cannot undertake so sudden a journey as I enjoined him, but shall put a period to my request in this matter, though not to the thankful acknowledgments of him that remains

Your lordship's most humble servant,

ED. HOWARD.

Kirk House, 15th of January, 1644. [*N. S.* 1645.]

One of the incidents of most frequent occurrence during the war (particularly in the North, where clanship had stronger and more numerous ties than in other parts of the country), was the exchange of prisoners. Scattered through the correspondence there are numerous instances, from which occasional selections will be made here and there. There is not a single case in which such applications were not responded to with kindness and courtesy. Here is a note from Lord Francis Willoughby, touching the exchange of a friend of his, Major Benson, then in the hands of the Royalists. The occasion, and the right to ask this favour of Lord Fairfax, arose from the gallant conduct of Lord Willougby, who had distinguished himself in many daring exploits, but chiefly in having stormed Gainsborough at midnight, and seized the persons of the Earl of Kingston, Sir John Orme, and others. It was in exchange for one of these gentlemen that he petitioned for the liberation of his friend Benson; and an endorsement in Lord Fairfax's hand-writing informs us that the exchange was effected in favour of Sir John Orme on the other side, soon after the date of this letter :

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, GENERAL OF THE NORTHERN PARTS.

My Lord,

I received a letter from your lordship concerning the exchange of Major Benson; your lordship's favour to me, in that you are pleased to take notice of me in it, is an obligation beyond my desert, which I have ever found in your lordship's civilities to me. My lord, I shall ever account it my greatest happiness whenever anything that I had or shall have an interest in, your lordship will please to command it; or that I may be so useful to serve you. Sir Benson, my lord, he is and ever was at your lordship's disposal; and myself to serve you, as

Your lordship's most affectionate and humble servant,

F. Willoughby.

London, December 14th, 1644.

It makes a striking postscript to Lord Willoughby's letter to add that this Benson, who "is, and ever was at his lordship's disposal," went over, not very long after, to the other party, and died on the scaffold, in 1650, for attempting the restoration of Charles II. Stranger things than this happened in those days. Monk, fighting on the side of the King, was taken prisoner at Nantwich, and, not being lucky enough to procure an exchange, was sent up to the Tower, from whence he emerged to take arms under the Parliament; "and," says Rushworth, whose simple statement of the fact is

very expressive, "after many revolutions, proved the famous instrument of King Charles the Second's happy restoration." Monk was made Duke of Albemarle for having accomplished that which Benson was beheaded for attempting.

The correspondence of this eventful year of 1644 may be wound up with a few miscellaneous letters, relating chiefly to the disorders and injuries arising from the licentiousness of half-disciplined soldiers and partisans. Friends and foes, the noble and the powerful, the humble and the defenceless, alike suffered from these headlong excesses.

The Lord Mulgrave, whose letter comes first, was the father-in-law of Lord Fairfax, and the reader will also remember him as the father-in-law of that spendthrift, young Sir Philip Fairfax, whose daughter Ursula was married to Mr. James Chaloner.

The writer of the second letter was Algernon Percy, who resigned the office of Lord High Admiral to Charles the First. He was charged with the custody of the royal children, which he held till the execution of the King. He, along with the Essexes and Manchesters, went into private life after that time, and came out again in full court bloom upon the Restoration.

Mr. Wolstenholme's circumstantial narrative gives a curious picture of the outrageous conduct of the soldiers. It affords a peep also at the condition of the roads, which were so miry and impracticable, that the honest country gentleman had no means of getting his family

to church (frosty weather excepted!) after his horses were taken from him :—

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE AND MY VERY LOVING SON-IN-LAW, FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, THESE.

My Lord,

I have, with no small alacrity, received intelligence of the many achievements whereof it hath pleased God to make you a happy instrument, and of your valour implanted in your sons, mixed with so much piety, that they also have made the public cause the whetstone of their fortitude. Military valour which carrieth with it much renown, hath been glorious in them, yet but a small ray of that perfection which dear Charles hath showed in his great encounter with death. This I mention not to beget a sigh, but as his nearness binds me to rejoice with you in the assurance he is gone to Him that gives and takes at his pleasure.

By this means, my lord, I have an opportunity to descend into the business of the attorneys, wherein something falls out which is like to lie heavy upon me, should it not be removed by timely advertising your lordship of the state thereof.

I understand by Sir Paul Pinder that a stay is threatened of the attorneys, and use is to be made thereof for the State's service; wherein my interest is not only involved, but it will appear a very hard measure to that good gentleman. For, my lord, if the works are conceived to be the King's, it is misconceived; though the King be my immediate tenant, and Sir Paul Pinder his farmer, yet it is upon account, and in consideration of many thousand pounds long since paid to

the Crown, and securing my rent; and should this be prosecuted, it will as well destroy my hopes of 1640*l.* a year, wherewith you are trusted, as an honest gentleman that, I fear, is reduced from a plentiful fortune to little else to subsist with.

My lord, the confidence I have in you, gives me assurance I shall receive a fair account of this business. Thus wishing prosperity to you and yours, and that the great Disposer of all things will crown you with success in your designs, shall be the prayers of

Your lordship's affectionate friend and father-in-law,

MULGRAVE.

London, December 9th, 1644.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX.

MY LORD,

IN these distractions I cannot expect to be free from the oppressions and burthens which are incident to a war, although (as I am informed by my officers in the north) your lordship is pleased to afford them your countenance and protection upon all occasions in my businesses; for which I do return your lordship many thanks, and desire the continuance of your favour to them when they shall make their addresses unto you. I hear that the garrison at Wresell hath so hurt the house, wasted the woods, and impoverished my tenants of that lordship, that the seat there will run a hazard of being utterly destroyed, if that garrison be not either removed or better ordered. The disbanding of it and slighting the works, is that which I desire, if it may stand with your lordship's pleasure, and the service of the public, to which we must all submit. I shall study

by all ways to deserve the respect which you have been pleased to show unto

Your lordship's affectionate and faithful servant,

NORTHUMBERLAND.

York House, December 9th, 1644.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, LORD GENERAL OF THE NORTH.

MY LORD,

I WAS resolved not to have been more troublesome to your lordship for anything concerning myself; but now I see myself lie open not only to be undone by plunder, but myself, wife, children, and servants, subjected to the violence and rapine of disordered soldiers, before and in the presence of your captains and officers who commanded them, and plunder in part justified to be allowed the soldier by the captain, when he had no commission to enter my house; two of my servants sore wounded who did nothing to them, in my wife's presence, and she forced to flee to her chamber for rescue, and there a naked sword tendered her by a young ruffian, who called for her and told her he came for money, and with fearful oaths that money he would have; and calling all Romish whores, wherein I thank God none with me are guilty. He had his desire in part, for he snatched a purse with a gold ring and a seal in it, from a servant that was giving some to quiet him. By the way I beseech your lordship to take into consideration, that the sequestrator gave this commission to one Captain Swaine, to sequester and appraise all my cattle, but not to bring them away; yet he not only drove them away, but gave divers of my coach-horses to one Captain Wood, who set him on work first to do

this, and who the last week plundered the same horses and two others notwithstanding. I showed him your lordship's proclamation against it. I made my address to his colonel, a very civil man, and he caused three coach-horses and a mare to be restored; but the other coach-horse and a pacing nag for my own saddle, the Captain keeps still; and now by Captain Swaine's means he may set up a coach, for he hath all four, and your lordship is well acquainted with our dirty country, that I need not acquaint your lordship that my wife cannot serve God at church with the congregation but in frosty weather. Cornet Lambert yet was very civil to her, though he took the best, and your lordship was pleased to say I should likewise have him again, you were so far from taking the rest. Some other colts never backed he detains likewise for his own use; he drove away my milch kine, my draught oxen, and five fat oxen, which were for my own expense, and are valued very high; and either I must purchase them or lose them. Yet I procured so much favour with Mr. Lodge, by means of a friend, as to have my cattle again, all but what Captain Swaine hath disposed of; upon promise to pay the rate within a few days, if I procured not your lordship's order to stay the payment. Truly, my lord, money is very precious with me, and where to borrow so much I yet know not. My sufferings are infinite every way; my family great, and consequently my charge, and for my own security I dare not now lessen. I beseech your lordship's order to quit it, or to abate it in some reasonable measure, that I may live; and for the abuses of the two captains and their officers and soldiers, that you would cause them to be examined by Mr. Lodge, and whom else you please, and upon certificate of their demeanour, contrary to their commission and your lordship's proclamation, your lordship would

make them examples for the safety of your poor servants and the rest of the county, and God will bless you in doing justice, and I shall remain,

Your lordship's humble servant,

JOHN WOLSTENHOLME.

Nostel, December 22nd, 1644.

About three weeks since I had four fatting cattle taken from me for the heath garrison, and eight fat sheep. Those your commanders there yet gave me a bill for, but when to be paid God knoweth; but they set a value of them less than I am rated to pay for my goods now taken. I beseech your lordship give me leave to defend my house according to law, against any but such as show your lordship's commission, because I live in fear of my life with all my family; and except I have your lordship's warrant herein, I dare not do it; as I both would and could barely do in defence thereof.

Mr. Wolstenholme was the eldest son of Sir John Wolstenholme, of Nostel, Yorkshire, and was married to Dorothy, the youngest daughter of Lord de Vere, and sister-in-law to Sir Thomas Fairfax.

A couple of incidental letters from Lords Clare and Morley, may be inserted here :—

Lord Clare, whose confidential communication illustrates the occasional abuse of the protection system, was a man of no mark in himself, but derived a sort of reflected lustre from his brother, Denzil Holles. He was married to the eldest daughter of Lord de Vere, and in that way claims cousinship with the Fairfaxes.

FOR MY VERY GOOD LORD AND COUSIN THE LORD FAIRFAX, GENERAL OF THE FORCES IN THE NORTH FOR KING AND PARLIAMENT, AT YORK.

My Lord,

I could not omit this opportunity of saluting you by Colonel Lambert, and having so many relations unto you of obligation, alliance, and affection for your own worth, I must needs let your lordship know of what falls within the narrow circle of my knowledge which may concern you, as desiring to be serviceable to you by all the ways I can. Sir John Curson who serves for Derbyshire, was with me the other day, and told me (which I think he had from his brother Sir John Gell) that your lordship had given more commissions for raising regiments in Derbyshire than the country could bear, and some of them to strangers to the country; and he complained also of your protection to Mr. Frechevile, with the countenance whereof he kept twelve pieces of ordnance in his house, and 200 musketeers, which he billeted upon the country, which was not laying down of arms, but keeping a force against the Parliament, and that Gell summoning and requiring his arms, he sent him your protection, and writ if it should not be allowed, he would be buried in the ruins of his house.

The copy of the protection and his letter I have seen, which if showed the House, would not be so well taken, and was called for by some malevolent to you both who had got some inkling of it. But Sir John Curson (I must needs do him that right) declined it, as unwilling to do you an ill office; all which I undertook to tell your lordship, so as you may do well in my opinion to acknowledge his courtesy, which you have understood from me. Take no notice to

him that I had any former traffic in the business, though I know you did it at my instance, which would trouble me the more that it should reflect upon you, and truly I am confident Mr. Frechevile is of so much honour as he will be very, very tender of your safety. But yet I would advise your lordship to press him to some certainty when he will further declare himself, and deliver up his house to the use of the Parliament; and if he should refuse to fix a time, I would wish you to call in your protection, and declare it void.

But I verily believe you will not be put to it, and that he will give you a good account of himself; and then it will be a good service to the public to reduce a person of his value and esteem, with a place of that strength, which commands a great part of the country, and would require a considerable expense of men and money to force it. And when he shall have done what belongs to him, then I believe you will give an account of it to the great committee, and withal I shall desire you to recommend him unto them, and mediate his reception, upon which his friends may take a rise to move further for him. So, wishing your lordship's health and happiness, with my service to my sister, my sweet cousin your daughter, and to Tom Fairfax, I rest

Your lordship's very affectionate cousin and servant,

CLARE.

August 18*th*, 1644.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, GENERAL OF THE NORTHERN FORCES, AT YORK, THESE PRESENT.

MY LORD,

THE inveterate malady of the spleen enforced me to come to the Spa for my old remedy. My stay at Knares-

borough to that end has been ever since I wrote to your lordship. I intended to have retired myself to my own home, but was prevented by the sudden coming of your forces. Upon their approach I betook myself with others to the Castle, not knowing what treaty the common sort of soldiers might afford me.

In respect of this my infirmity, and the casualty of the thing, I would desire your lordship's pass for myself, three servants, and a boy, to repair to Hornby Castle, or some other place, where by your lordship's favour I may be at my own freedom without disturbance. Thus relying upon our former acquaintance, your lordship's good disposition, and this my reasonable request, I am confident you will condescend unto it without obstacle. The engagement will oblige me to continue

Your lordship's friend and servant,

MORLEY AND MONTEAGLE.

November 14th, 1644.

The "inveterate spleen" is as good a fact to remember his lordship of Morley and Monteagle by as any with which we are acquainted. It has not transpired whether he ever did anything of greater importance than drink Spa water, solicit passes for safe deliverances, and nestle himself up in quiet corners of old castles. Some five years before the date of this letter he had left off Parliament, and apparently gave himself up exclusively to his malady. And thus in this age of enlisting, drilling, and trumpeting, when men were in incessant motion day and night all over the kingdom, and

alarum-bells were ringing from turrets and churches, and even from the great gable-ends of factories and farm-houses, noblemen and others afflicted with the spleen, and sundry like craven diseases, might be seen creeping about in search of ease and shelter, taking no part either way, and holding their breath till the storm past over, ready to come out when the sky cleared, and sun themselves in the triumph!

A letter from young Edmund Sheffield to his uncle by marriage, the Lord Fairfax, relating to personal matters, but not wholly wanting in more general interest, discloses an instance of the readiness of base men to take advantage of social confusion and distrust for their own ends. The "grandfather" alluded to, who is so perplexed and maligned by his late steward, is the Earl of Mulgrave, with whom we renewed our acquaintance a few pages back, and whom we formerly knew, in the quiet times of the Denton Peerage Case, as the Lord Sheffield, a most respectable President of the North; now nearly in his dotage, close upon eighty years of age, and fallen from the high glories of fighting the Armada, and ruling the councils of the Border, to the humiliation of being torn to pieces by brawling hirelings. In two years from this time, poor old "grandfather" dropped into his grave, and the writer of the letter became Earl of Mulgrave.

"Brother Monmouth" was Henry Carey, Earl of Monmouth. He and Sheffield had married two sisters, daughters of the Earl of Middlesex, the Lord Treasurer,

who had been disgraced from his offices by James the First. Of Monmouth there is nothing known, except that he was a man of studious and retired habits, who kept as much as possible out of the way of history; and we are accordingly left to speculate upon the favour rendered him by Fairfax, which was probably to supply him with a pass, or keep the soldiers off his grounds.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY VERY GOOD LORD, THE LORD FAIRFAX, THESE AT YORK.

My Lord,

I give your lordship many thanks for the favour of your letter of the 24th of October last, which (as all yours are) was exceeding welcome to me. I did your commands to my grandfather, who of late hath been marvellous ill, but took it very well your lordship was pleased to mention him with so much respect in your letter to me, and I believe he intends to write to your lordship, to acquaint you how Mr. Coventry (his late steward at Mulgrave) and some other ill-affected and malicious persons go about to asperse my lord's present officer there, Mr. Shipton, upon no better ground than the ground of ill-will, because their power is lessened and his increased there; yet they are so troublesome to my lord's officer, as my lord's service is much hindered by it, it being impossible for Mr. Shipton to follow my lord's occasions as they require, so long as Mr. Coventry and his malignant associates have the freedom and countenance to molest Shipton. Wherefore, my lord, I should be very glad (as far as the rules of justice will bear it) that Mr. Coventry and his abettors might be restrained from being so troublesome and

spiteful, and rather that they might have the beam pulled out of their eyes, than suffered to find out, if it be possible, a mote in their brother's eye; for Coventry, he gives it upon his own account, that he did pay to the enemy was in Mulgrave 100*l.* of my lord's money, without the least authority from my lord for it. Many things of this nature I suppose he is guilty of, which speaks what he is, and therefore I will say no more of him, but leave him to your lordship's judicious consideration how to keep him, at least, from prejudicing of my grandfather.

My lord, my brother Monmouth doth acknowledge your great favour to him, and both he and myself are your very humble servants for it, and shall be ready to do you any service we can.

My Lady Fairfax, her sons, are arrived here, which I hope will be to their improvement, if she can get money to breed them with, which I doubt is very much wanting to her as yet, but she tells me your lordship will be so noble to her as to send her a month's pay of her husband's salary. Truly, my lord, I think you shall do very honourable in it, and the larger you extend your favour to her in this kind, the more it will redound to your own honour, and the seasonable relief of a distressed widow.

My lord, I remain,
Your lordship's most humble servant,
And affectionate nephew,
SHEFFIELD.

November 19th, 1644.

The next letters relate to an event of some importance to the Fairfaxes, but of still greater importance to the country—the elevation of Sir Thomas to the

supreme command of the army of the Parliament. Philip, Lord Wharton, who writes these letters, was more distinguished by his tongue and his pen than his sword. One of the historians positively asserts, that during the battle of Edge-Hill, where he held a colonel's commission, he hid himself in a saw-pit!

FOR MY LORD FAIRFAX, AT YORK.

My Lord,

During my being within doors, I forbore your lordship's trouble. In this kind be pleased now to pardon me in the receiving of my acknowledgments of all respect and service. Your lordship will, from many hands, hear of a vote passed your House, that no member of either should have any office, civil or martial, during these civil wars; and for the trial, that they will not be partial, it was this day carried, that my Lord of Essex should not be excepted out of that Ordinance. Two things upon this occasion I may safely say, that I would to God we had such a successor in all other places as your lordship will have, and that further than your lordship is generally involved in the Vote, you are not otherwise concerned or intended in it, that ever I heard of. This being so, if this Ordinance pass the Houses, your case will be with honour and comfort, for a general good, to resign your command over unto him who is properly to merit, and will constantly make good all the honour you can leave him. By the letter inclosed your lordship will see what is the King's answer, and what upon the delivery of it was said by my Lord Duke of Richmond.

I am your lordship's most humble servant,

P. Wharton.

December 17th, 1644.

FOR THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT YORK.

My Lord,

I am to acknowledge my obligation for your last and many other favours. The worst news I can send you is, that there is none, our business concerning the armies and officers depending yet betwixt the Houses upon great uncertainties, and all things in the interim lying very loose.

The way and manner of the treaty is referred to the preparation of the Committee of both Kingdoms, and will suddenly be brought to the Houses.

The party sent into the West after relief of Taunton is, by some unfortunate mistake (we know not how yet), returned, whereby the advantages we had in those parts are much retarded.

I am very glad your lordship's forces are so usefully employed. It is visible your lordship would work well, if you had tools; for your accommodation wherein, as in all other services, you shall always find me ready to approve myself

Your lordship's humble servant,

P. Wharton.

December 31*st*, 1644.

The appointment of Sir Thomas Fairfax in the room of Essex has not yet taken place, but it is ripening. Debates are going on in Parliament which are preparing the way for changes in the army, and in the conduct of the war, which must inevitably drive out all half-measures and the men who support them. In the meanwhile, looking back through the events of the year, and counting up gains and losses, it may be inferred

that the King's cause is reeling under vital blows, and that Parliament has now nothing more to do than to follow them up with swiftness and decision.

And of all men Sir Thomas Fairfax is the fittest for this hot service. He is in his thirty-fourth year; has seen the closest and fiercest fighting in streets, ditches, lanes, on the slopes of hills, inside and outside fortified walls, and upon open plains; he has been put to the worst extremities, and carried himself through them with heroic endurance. The time is gone by for men like Essex and Manchester who think forbearance the best policy, and that there is nothing risked in dealing tenderly with the enemy. The successes won in this memorable year must be pursued with vigour; and this is a function which demands younger blood and bolder spirits.

These successes were of the most signal kind: the defeat of Lord Byron in Lincolnshire; the conquest of several garrisons in Cheshire; the seizure of Helmesley and Pomfret castles; the overthrow of a large force of Royalists at Ferrybridge; the total rout of Prince Rupert's army, and dispersion of the generals, at Marston Moor; and finally the surrender of York, which made Sir Thomas Fairfax master of the North. Add to this list of advantages gained, the divisions in the King's councils, which prevailed in one shape or another from the beginning, but which had latterly broken out into open feud,—the strange meandering marches of the King after Essex, now hemming him in, and now letting

him escape, but bringing about no result beyond that of exposing to public gaze the pitiable spectacle of royalty in difficulties,—and the flight of the Queen in such suddenness and alarm, as to allow nature hardly time to recover strength after the tender pangs of childbirth: add these incidents to the larger events of the past twelvemonths, and there will be more than enough to justify the Parliament party in the enjoyment of an exulting Christmas and a confident New Year.

1645.

THE SELF-DENYING ORDINANCE.

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX APPOINTED GENERALISSIMO.

PERSONAL INCIDENTS, ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

THE BATTLE OF NASEBY.

THE CLUB-RISERS.

STORMING OF BRIDGEWATER, SHERBORNE, AND BRISTOL.

THE FLIGHT OF DIGBY.

THE KING AT OXFORD.

1645.

THERE is a gay letter, full of pleasant drawing-room gallantry, which seems to have dropped out of its place in the old Fairfax chest, and been left to take chance of ever finding its way into the daylight—probably because it is undated and unsigned. Nothing better can be done with this piece of stray sprightliness than to bring it in at once at the opening of 1645, a time when the whole country was beginning to look brightly into the future.

From internal evidence, this letter is nearly twenty years older than our present date. It belongs to the age of our elder Fairfaxes, the age of knighthoods and chivalries, of armadas and spurs, and maiden Queens; and it brings down with it into our troubled chambers, filled with the smoke and roar of civil war, a tone of leisure and playfulness that steals upon us like a strain of old forgotten music. The Lady Mary Fane, to whom it is addressed, came of the stock of the Nevills of Raby, who were interlaced with many renowned nobilities, and had many titular honours smouldering like half-extinguished brands upon their hearth. She was the only daughter of the fourth Lord Abergavenny, and was married to Sir Thomas Fane, a descendant of

some huge, misty Welshman, called Howell ap Vane, who is said to have lived long before the Conquest,—a circumstance by no means so remarkable as the fact that the Fanes founded the house of Westmoreland. Upon the death of her father, Lady Mary claimed the barony of Abergavenny, but failed, after a long investigation, the House of Lords deciding that it went with the male heirs. By way of compensation, however, for this disappointment, they granted letters patent for reviving in her the ancient barony of Le Despencer, one of the numerous titles enrolled in her house of houses. The Lord Westmoreland alluded to in the letter, was her son, who was admitted to the peerage as Baron Burghersh and Earl of Westmoreland, in 1624; and as her ladyship died in 1626, this letter must have been written in the interval. The writer appears to have had something of the bantering youthfulness of Horace Walpole in his old age; and if he puts on the airs of a wintry beau with less grace and sparkle, the reader will be tempted to suspect, perhaps, that he has a little more muscle to fall back upon. The initials are those of Sir Francis Rokeby, who, if he was a son of Sir Thomas Rokeby of Rokeby, (as we are justified in conjecturing) must have been at this time a gentleman of ruined fortunes. So urgent were the necessities of Sir Thomas, that he had already sold the ancestral domains to a Mr. Robinson, in whose line they continued until they passed by purchase into the hands of Mr. Morritt, the friend of Sir W. Scott.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LADY MARY FANE, HUMBLY.

WELCOME from Windsor, my most good Lady Mary; then I must ask, madam, how they all stand as to health at Bray,* and thereabouts. You must answer well if they be so; if not—mum, for I take no pleasure in ill news. Now I must inquire how it was with you for diversion—which way you disposed of yourselves all day; and expect to be told that the men were no sooner up, and had laid in a good stock of breakfast, than they bolted abroad with their dogs and guns; whilst we of the more refined metal, not made for labour and dirty work, found delights more acceptable at home. I said my own prayers, and read homilies to the family; my sisters practised upon the spinnet, and my lady had the satisfaction of hearing all. I think there is no reason for searching out what use was made of evenings. I can guess the sportsmen brought home that little they had taken a great deal of pains for; you helped to eat it, took each a glass or two of wine, then scraped three or four sweethearts out of the ashes, and so to bed. Now, madam, I must take leave to make one step from country to court, and would be glad to know what sort of behaviour the new Spanish monarch has shown amidst the glory of our English beauties; whether he have well learned the art to ogle without squinting; whether he can make an amour without words; whether his Austrian lips can kiss without slobbering; whether he be a man of stratagem amongst ladies, as I hope he will prove in war; and whether he have not a double countenance—one to please women, the other to fright men. I am satisfied your ladyship

* Between Maidenhead and Windsor.

cannot be absolutely certain in your answer, but your acquaintance with so many gay things that know all may make you guess at a little.

Now, madam, the tables must turn, and it is upon your part to put the questions; so you must begin. Welcome from Fincett and Southwick,* my most sweet Sir Francis. Pray give me an account, for I cannot imagine what employment you could spend your time upon at those two places fifteen or sixteen days together. Why, I will tell you, madam. In so mixed a multitude, perhaps there never was a more agreeable conversation, for you must know the whole family of Southwick (Dim only excepted) were the first half time at Fincett, and the other half the whole family of Fincett at Southwick. Sometimes, when the company were inclinable for a talk, you cannot think with what admirable handsomeness the pleasing condescensions of Lady and Lord Westmoreland, the sweet, obliging tempers of the ladies, Mary, Susan, and Rachel, were discoursed of; but when the pretty conceits of my little hop-about Dallison were once thought on, it was a general mirth.

I know the next question must naturally be, what my old, fusty, dying carcase, having lost the pleasure of taste and sight, should do amongst so much youth and spirit, there being a vast difference betwixt sky and earth. Why, truly, madam, it was not by choice, for I was hurried away by arbitrary power, whether in cart or coach I cannot well say, but sure I am it had wheels. Neither do I know but that I might be of some use, for by looking on a man half in the grave, perhaps it would make them think a little upon their own mortality. I will not undertake to tell which of the

* Southwick, in the county of Southampton.

ladies danced best, nor who of the men drank most, they being excellencies. I have no skill in, nor will I make comparison with, where you have been; but this I will venture at, as you were all countesses and kings, we were all gentlewomen and squires of her Majesty's peace. Thus, my dear Lady Mary, in having given you a slight description of a fortnight's living, I have so far killed myself that I am not able to say more, but wish you every year all the happiness this world can afford, till God shall call you to a better enjoyment in that to come, and am,

My most good madam,

Your honour's most humble and obedient,

F. R.

From what has been seen of jealousies, piques, and differences amongst the commanders of the army, the business of Parliament was clear at the opening of 1645; but the way to the execution of it was crooked and difficult. There were two opinions as to the management of the war: the one for delay and compromise, the other for slipping the hounds in full cry on the King-hunt. Essex, Manchester, and Denbigh, and most of the high Parliament men, who stood on their traditions and aristocratic associations, were of the former way of thinking; Fairfax, (who was a thorough soldier, and nothing more, and saw all questions through that violent medium), Cromwell, and the whole movement party of the Parliament, were of the latter. Such a conflict might have done no great mischief in Westminster; in the councils of the army it

was fatal. It is in some sort the business of Parliament to doubt and discuss—it is the express function of an army to act. Parliament may be made up of hundreds of atoms of crotchets, throwing out their antennæ in as many diverging directions; but an army ought to have only one mind, and move in a mass only to one end. To bring about this desirable consummation, and (in order to bring it about) to get rid of the lords and shufflers, whose compassionate tears threatened to "glue the sword to the scabbard," was the design of that famous measure which is known to us by the significant title of the Self-denying Ordinance.

The pith of this ordinance is expounded in one pregnant line, in a letter from Mr. James Chaloner, who, busily engaged in the debates and proceedings, informs his friend, Lord Fairfax, at intervals, of what is going forward. It must be remembered that in those times there was no electric telegraph, such as the daily paper of our day, for the diffusion of intelligence; so that information, even thus hastily and scantily communicated, was of incalculable value. The ordinance had passed the Commons early in the preceding December, and had been sent up to the Lords, who, after much coquetry in committees and conferences, had rejected it in the middle of January. The expression of a hope that no stranger should have the Command-in-Chief, is a plain allusion to Prince Rupert, whose position at the head of the King's troops gave great offence.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, LORD GENERAL OF THE NORTH.

MOST NOBLE LORD,

IT is an infinite content to me, that your lordship doth continue so high an esteem of me, expressed by your letters of the 3rd of this instant, wherewith you were pleased to honour me: it is now my part to endeavour to deserve it, which (God willing) I shall do upon every occasion. The Ordinance for withdrawing the members of either House from employments either civil or military, after several contestations between the two Houses about it, is rejected by the Lords. I am sorry for it, in regard it is so vehemently distasted by the Commons' House; the enemy draws his greatest advantages as well from our divisions as treacheries. It is said that the King hopes, and hath (by some letters of his intercepted) so expressed himself, to make a good peace by means of a moderate party in the House of Parliament. Such persons in popular counsels are seldom liked, especially in such times of jealousy as these are, being suspected to be led by private interests, to the prejudice of the public; if there be any such in our great councils, I believe they will be singled out, to their dishonour, when it shall be held seasonable to call them to question.

There is a design to have the Militia new moulded; if it be so, then I could wish, and I hope it will be so provided for, that our own forces in all parts shall exceed the auxiliaries; and that no stranger, but one of our own nation, have the command in chief. It is probable Sir T. Fairfax will be called up to be general of the horse. I hear Sir W. Witherington is come to the Hague in

Holland, and that my Lord of Newcastle is thought to be coming also thither. I fear considerable forces will in this way of volunteers arrive to molest us. The Treaty your lordship hath heard is voted, with the manner, but partly because the differences are so great, and for that neither party is yet reduced to a condition of despair, the issue of it I fear will be so far from healing the wound, that it will be only an occasion to inflame it the more.

Canterbury on Friday last lost his head on Tower Hill; for so much as I have observed in his composition, he was a man of a bold and austere nature, witty, but exceeding short of that prudence, which, in a person of his dignity, and of so high respect with the King as he was, was requisite.

My lord, I should be most willing to present your lordship with anything worthy your consideration; but fearing that I have but overmuch trespassed upon your patience, and interrupted your great affairs, I will, sir, cease to say for the present more than that I am,

My lord,

Your most humble, most faithful,

and most affectionate nephew and servant,

JAMES CHALONER.

London, January 14th, 1644, [*N.S.* 1645.]

My wife presents to your lordship her most humble duty and service.—J. C.

In the midst of these stirring events we must not forget that the little wife, who presents her humble duty and service to his lordship, was the Ursula Fairfax, to whom the pretty love-letter (which, it is to

be hoped, the reader remembers,) was addressed, by Mr. James Chaloner, nearly, to a day, ten years before.*

The anticipation respecting Sir Thomas Fairfax fell short of the mark. Instead of making him General of the horse, the Commons made him Generalissimo of horse and foot. Nor did they give much breathing time to the Lords after the rejection of the ordinance, but took the matter at once into their own hands, and went on re-modelling the army. On the 21st January (six days after the Lords had expelled the ordinance) they made out the appointment of the new commander, and sent for him into the country to attend upon them. In the meanwhile we hear about the progress of affairs from Lord Wharton (he who hid himself in the sand-pit at Edgehill) and Sir Thomas Widdrington. The ordinance for new-modelling the army, alluded to in these letters, must not be confounded with the Self-denying Ordinance.

PHILIP LORD WHARTON TO THE LORD FAIRFAX.

My Lord,

I received your lordship's of the 25th of January concerning Dr. Bathurst, to whom I shall be very ready and forward to do any good office upon your lordship's recommendation.

There is no great news stirring from without doors. Within we are entertained principally with the modelling of a new

* Fairfax Correspondence, Memoir I. lxxviii.

army, which is so far passed, as that both Houses have resolved to rob the North of a good friend of its and yours.*

The Ordinance this day passed the Lord's House with an amendment or two for the taking of the Covenant, and approbation of the officers by both Houses. Another of our endeavours is to advance the Scotch army's march more southwards, for which preparations of money, arms, and other accommodations are now in agitation, and so forward as we hope will give good encouragement.

In the meantime, the Commissioners of both sides intend the Treaty † very earnestly, but as yet there is not any one step gained. Thursday was spent in civilities, and viewing of powers; Friday, Saturday, and Monday in the proposition upon religion, the King's commissioners having employed the first two days in questions and demands about Church government; and yesterday till eleven at night being wholly employed upon the business of Episcopacy, whereunto notwithstanding they would give no full answer. What hath been the issue of this day's work is not come to my knowledge, only thus far, the business appointed to be treated on is about the Militia.

My lord,

I am your lordship's most humble servant,

P. Wharton.

Colonel White told me he would remind your lordship of a business I spoke to him in, that, upon the sequestration of Grinton vicarage in Mardale, an honest, faithful, full godly man might be put in, who might be of a bold spirit and an able body; which two last are absolutely necessary, considering

* Sir T. Fairfax.

† Treaty of Uxbridge.

the roughness and multitude of the people, and the wildness of the place, and having two chapels under his care, (that of Meteners being eight or nine miles distant,) where it will be fit for him to exercise every office on every third Lord's day, and whence a great part of his means ariseth. Most of the Dale are my tenants, and I should be exceedingly glad, therefore, out of that respect, as well as the general, that it were well supplied; and would contribute my mite to his entertainment, if God enable me with an estate, and if such an active, honest man be procured. Your lordship will pardon me for recommending this unto you, amongst your other weighty employments.

February 5th, 1644, [*N. S.* 1645].

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX AT YORK, THESE PRESENT.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I AM not yet able to tell you of anything concluded at Uxbridge; having nothing yet but hopes, and those mixed with fears upon the Treaty. The Ordinance for the new model, as you heard by the last, is agreed by the Lords, with some provisoes added by them, which are somewhat qualified by the House of Commons, but not yet sent up to the Lords again. They are this day sent up to the Lords. The two principal provisoes are thus qualified, as I remember:—1. That the commanders and officers shall be nominated by the Commander-in-chief, but to be approved of by both Houses of Parliament. 2. That all colonels and other officers shall take the national Covenant, within twenty days after they shall be approved of by both Houses of

Parliament; and that all other soldiers in that army shall take the Covenant at such time and in such manner as shall be directed by both Houses. The latter of the two provisoes lasted in debate from a little after ten till past five at night upon Saturday last. Sir Thomas Fairfax is expected here every day. It hath not yet been moved publicly that he should bring up any of his own horse, but to so many as it hath been privately intimated, it seems very fitting and reasonable; and so I hope it will be to the House. I am very well satisfied that so good a choice is made for the place which Mr. Clayton desired.

There is a letter sent from both Houses to desire the Scots to move southwards; and I believe some moneys will be shortly provided for them to hasten their journey. I am resolved not to hasten mine northward, till I see how Sir Thomas Fairfax settles in this place. I have no more to add but the presentation of my duty to your lordship,

Ever remaining, my lord,

Your lordship's humble servant,

TH. WIDDRINGTON.

February 11*th*, 1644, [*N. S.* 1645].

My Lord—I am desired by my worthy friend, Sir Benjamin Rudyard, to present his service and his suit unto your lordship, on behalf of one Francis Nichols, who serves under your lordship. The particulars of his request are mentioned in the inclosed letter, written from Nichols to Sir Benjamin Rudyard.

On the 18th February Sir Thomas arrived in London, accompanied by a few officers. Sir Thomas Widdrington

ton, who reports his safe arrival to Lord Fairfax, appears to have waited upon him at Ware, and attended him to town.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT THE CITY OF YORK, THESE.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I SHALL at this time trouble your lordship with little, and that in my meanest scribbling way, being newly returned from Ware with Sir Thomas Fairfax, who is very safely arrived here, when he was very much expected. He hath been with Mr. Speaker, and is just now gone to wait upon my Lord General. The Ordinance for the new model passed both Houses upon Saturday last, having been delayed for four or five days upon the debate of the provisoes mentioned in my last. Sir Thomas Fairfax is to nominate all the officers, and the Houses to approve. All the officers are to take the Covenant, or to be displaced, in case of refusal, till they take it. Two forts in Weymouth were taken from the Parliament, but one of them is regained; and it is said the town will be relieved. I have no more to add, but my duty to your lordship, remaining,

My Lord,
Your lordship's humble servant,
THOMAS WIDDRINGTON.

I doubt Sir Thomas Fairfax will hardly be able to write to your lordship this week. There is nothing yet concluded at Uxbridge.

London, February 18*th*, 1644, [*N. S.* 1645.]

On the following day he was conducted to the House of Commons by four members, and found a chair placed for him, which he declined to use, standing bare, while the Speaker delivered to him the thanks and congratulations of Parliament.

We have further accounts in other letters of his reception, and of the condition of affairs in the country. It is pretty obvious from Chaloner's statement that, although there are some antagonisms to be reconciled between the two Houses, and a hard battle yet to be fought by the Commons, nothing more is wanted to success than to launch Fairfax in the field, at the head of a fresh army. It will be seen that his activity has been incessant in the matter of new-officering and new-modelling since he was before the House on the 19th February.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, LORD GENERAL OF THE NORTH.

MOST NOBLE LORD,

I DO observe that Sir Thomas Fairfax's arrival is most acceptable to the City and House of Commons, but it is as little pleasing to some here as to them at Oxford; yet I hope his fidelity, courage, and vigilance (by the blessing of God) will blast the designs of his maligners, either secret or professed. The militia in these parts have been either actually mutinous, or inclined to be so, about their pay, and refuse to march under Sir W. Waller. The want of pay is the reason that we have need, once in six weeks, of a recruit. But the soldiers' unwillingness to march under any

officers but their own, proceeds from the factiousness of some of their prime commanders, who being removed, and the soldier receiving a constant pay, (which they are now promised,) no doubt but they will give due obedience to such officers as the Parliament shall set over them. Yet, lest that upon the removing of their officers the soldiers should mutiny or disband, and by that means give the enemy advantage to fall into our quarters, I could wish, that, before this be done, the forces now to be raised, or a competent number of them, were drawn into their quarters to awe them, and secure the counties, whatsoever should happen.

The Treaty (I never thought other) determined with the time. None of the three propositions being granted, what success could we expect, when it was too manifest how broken we were in our counsels as well as in our army; besides the loss of Weymouth—a port most fit to let in the French, (who, I am of opinion, together with a party of Irish, who are permitted to land, and are allowed quarter in Britain, will invade us this summer); if from Melcombe Regis, situated on the other bank of the river, we cannot prevent it. It is apparent this Treaty from the other side was but with an intention to undermine us, not to compose the differences really; for how have they varied in the carriage of it? First, when our Commissioners attended with the propositions at Oxford, the King promised to send them an answer by messengers of his own, for which end he desired a safe-conduct for two lords to come to the Parliament, which was granted; but the lords arriving, instead of an answer to the propositions, a time and place was desired for Commissioners to meet at, for the discussing, &c. The time, place, and commissioners, and the matters to be treated of were agreed on. Then, after twenty

days' debate, and nothing concluded, the other side broached a new motion, which was, that the Parliament should take into consideration how to secure his Majesty's person from violence, and he would come to treat with them at Westminster.

Yet I believe the enemy is extremely appalled at the loss of Shrewsbury, the key of North Wales, as Gloucester is of the south part. Prince Maurice, by this means, will be able to do the King little service in those parts of the recruiting his army; so he must now rely only upon Somerset, Devonshire, and Cornwall, for men and contribution; for I make account he is so straitened and wasted in his head-quarter about Oxford, that there are neither men, moneys, horses, nor victuals to be had there. How he will be able, without foreign aid, to bring an army into the field this summer I see not. For us, if moneys can be procured, (as I believe they will), to be advanced upon Sir Thomas Fairfax's ordinance, no question but we shall have him at the head of a gallant army, which if it can but remove the Cavalier out of his head quarter, they will not be able to subsist, without foreign help, six months after. Yet no wonder is it if the King break the Treaty, and desire to come in person, when he perceiveth how loose some among us sit in the saddle.

My lord, I desire your pardon for troubling you with so long a letter; which I have done, not that I do not conceive your lordship understands these affairs better than myself, but only that in delivering of my own apprehension I might show myself to be willing to do your lordship the respects and service of a

Most affectionate and humble nephew and servant,

JAMES CHALONER.

February 24th, 1644, [*N. S.* 1645.]

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT THE CITY OF YORK.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

FOR such things as concern Sir Thomas Fairfax you will have them from other hands. He hath the list of officers ready, and I believe will present it this day to the House of Commons. The Treaty at Uxbridge is ended. The Commissioners returned home yesterday, nothing at all being concluded upon. The Dutch Ambassadors yesterday also presented their advice to the Houses, to call a national Synod, for settling of certain differences in point of government in the Church, to whom no answer hath been as yet given in that particular, the consideration of it being referred to the Committee of both Kingdoms. This day news are come of the taking of Shrewsbury: the castle not being as yet taken. I hear the town was gotten with few blows. The Ordinance for the Scottish moneys is passed both Houses, and now in print. We are at a stand for the present in the Ordinance for the army, because the model of it is not yet presented to the House from the Committee of both Kingdoms.

This day the Commissioners of the Treaty gave an account of their proceedings to the House, and were thanked for their pains and fidelity. And it is well hoped that, though this Treaty hath not produced a peace abroad, yet it will beget a better union at home. Thus, with my humble service presented to your lordship, I take leave to remain,

My Lord,

Your lordship's humble servant,

THOMAS WIDDRINGTON.

February 25th, 1644, [*N. S.* 1645.]

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT THE CITY OF YORK, THESE PRESENT.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

THE list of officers presented by Sir Thomas Fairfax to the House of Commons is approved there with some alterations, and was this day sent to the Lords with desire of their speedy concurrence. One fort at Weymouth is regained, and Melcombe Regis in a better condition than could be expected, though Goring hath now set up his regiment before it. Waller and Cromwell are both going that way. Shrewsbury, as you have heard, is taken, and we had strong reports of the retaking of it, but without truth. We hear of Sir M. Langdale's going northwards, with 2000 horse, which I hope is no news to you. It is thought that his design is to raise the siege at Pomfret Castle. Here be some reports, but no certainty, of some Irish landed in Wales. Sir William Brereton, by his letter this day to the House, desires that some of Scots may march towards him, being now at Shrewsbury. The monies are now in good forwardness for the Scots, which is hoped will hasten their march. You will receive at Hull some powder shortly from him. It is thought that Prince Maurice, with some Irish, hath a design to join with Langdale.

Since I writ the former lines, certain news are come to the House, that Weymouth is miraculously regained, and Goring with a considerable loss gone away. On account of this, and for the taking of Shrewsbury and Scarborough, Wednesday the 12th of this instant is appointed for a day of thanksgiving. Our thoughts here are for the present much upon the North, expecting what will be the issue of Langdale's journey. It is very satisfactory here, that Rossiter was so closely on his heels, and wish that every particular be known

unto you in time. There are many here that plot as zealously to crush it in the bud as others do to bring it to perfection. It is hoped that money will be got in K. upon the desire of T. to furnish it, and such as follow in his alphabet; when the greatest part is for him. The wits of G. act in K., and it is feared in T. also, for no good. Robert Frank will serve for a schoolmaster in this case. With my service to your lordship, I rest,

My Lord,

Your lordship's humble servant,

L. FAIRFAX.

March 4th, 1644, [*N. S.* 1645.]

The assent of Parliament to Sir Thomas's list was also communicated to Lord Fairfax by the Rev. Edward Bowles. This gentleman was a steady Non-conformist, and for many years private chaplain to Sir Thomas after he had succeeded to the title. A very curious anecdote, ascribing to him an important share in the first movement of the Restoration, transpired some eighteen or twenty years ago in one of the congregational publications. It is said to be well authenticated, and shall be more fully noticed in its proper place. The following letter discloses to us that at the time when Sir Thomas was engaged in these heavy and responsible affairs, he was suffering under a painful disease; and it also alludes to a fact which is not stated so explicitly elsewhere, that the Lords were materially influenced in the adoption of the list by the resolute expression of public opinion in the City.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, THESE, AT YORK.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

ALTHOUGH the sad loss of a dear father which I have sustained since my coming hither makes me unfit for these kind of addresses, yet the constancy of that affectionate service I owe your lordship bids me make as few intermissions as I may in the tender of it. Your lordship hath faithful intelligences, to which I shall for the most part refer you, especially in this time, wherein I am shut up from converse. Only this, the Lords have this day passed the list of Sir Thomas Fairfax's officers notwithstanding their former refusals, and the disrelish it found from the Scottish commissioners. The ground among others that moved them, I believe, was this; the City, who are most considerable with us in regard of money, were ready to declare their willingness to bring in money in case the list passed, or to offer their obedience, though the Lords dissented. It is thought some scruple will be about granting the commission, but it will be stood upon, and I believe carried, that it be from the Houses and not my Lord of Essex.

All other particulars the Diurnals will give account of: only my lord gave me leave to mention something I heard from Yorkshire of the affront offered, not so much to Mr. Byard as to your lordship's power, together with the commissioners who sat with your lordship in the passing that sentence which appears juster every day than otherwise. To meddle with that affair here were to publish either that your lordship had not power to rectify such things and pursue your own orders, or that you would not use it, either of which were very inconvenient. Let me, therefore,

beseech your lordship on the behalf, not of Mr. Byard, who may be provided in many places, but of those poor misled people and your own authority, either to rid the country of him or to give order that it be done from hence, for no man will stir to the prejudice of any of your lordship's authority, and I beseech your lordship not to prejudge it. Such vapours, as these of the doctor, unchecked, will breed more clouds and storms in the country; but I have said enough, it may be too much, in this matter; but it is as easy for your lordship's goodness to pardon, as for me to do that which should require it. I have nothing to add, but that I am resolved to be

Your lordship's faithful servant,

EDW. BOWLES.

Sion College, London, March 18th, 1644, [*N. S.* 1645.]

Your son hath been ill of the stone lately, and I have been constrained to be a stranger to him by reason of my sad condition, but am resolved to be so no longer.

The taking of Shrewsbury, alluded to in these letters, appears to have been a brilliant achievement, the enemy, in overwhelming numbers, being within fourteen miles of the town when it was stormed and taken by the Parliamentarians. The story is briskly related by Colonel Mitton, a brave officer, and a native of Shrewsbury moreover, who had large estates in the neighbourhood, and the best possible reasons for adopting the shortest way to insure the peace of the county. Colonel Mitton held the office of Governor of Shropshire, and had already rendered valuable aid to the cause by seizing upon Wem, and placing there the first Parliament garrison which had been established in the county.

For these services, especially his conduct at Shrewsbury, he received the thanks of the Parliament in person. In 1648 he was raised to the rank of Major-general.

LETTER FROM COLONEL THOMAS MITTON TO THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

HONOURABLE SIR,

I DESIRE that you will be pleased to excuse my not writing unto you of the manner of the taking of this town. I do assure you that the rest of the gentlemen of the Committee did not acquaint me when they sent the messenger with their letters, though I was as deep in the action as also in the contriving of the design with them. Moreover I had conceived they had put my hand to the letter they had sent unto you (I being then in town with them, but busy in settling the garrison), they having showed me a draft of a particular to be sent.

If it may not be unseasonable or troublesome, I shall yet take the boldness to relate it:—One Mr. Huson, a minister, who came out of Ireland with the enemy, and some three months since came from them unto us, did often press us to fall upon the town in the place where it pleased God now to give us entrance. That day se'nnight, before the town was taken, we intended to have fallen upon it, but the night being exceeding dark and the ways extremely wet, retarded our march so much, that it was near day before we came within a mile of the town, so that we were forced to retreat at that time. The night we surprised it, the moon did shine till after twelve o'clock, which helped us so much in our march, that we were within a mile of the town

before the going down of the moon. I being at Oswalstree, twelve miles from Wem, and as far from this town, upon very short notice marched to meet them.

Our intent was to have conveyed our foot in a boat in the river above the palisadoes, that they had set in a row from the out-works of the castle down into the river, but that project failed us. Nevertheless, Mr. Huson and one Captain Willier, who came likewise from the enemy unto us as I remember about a month before, took axes and sledges and broke down the palisadoes, and made way for our firelocks to enter through them, with some forty horsemen that went afoot with them with their carbines and pistols, which we were enforced to make use of in respect we had not above sixty firelocks. At the first beginning of the breaking of the palisadoes they were discovered and shot at out of the castle, whereupon the alarm was given to the town, our men being at least twelve score paces from that place in the wall where they entered; but it pleased God to give them such courage and resolution that they went on with exceeding great speed, and scaled the walls with light ladders we had caused to be made. One part of them went toward the main guard, others went with their firelocks, beat their guard from the gate near the castle, and in a short time burst open the gate and let down the drawbridge, where we were ready with the horse and some foot. We marched with the horse direct to the main guard, where we found that they had made our men retreat twice, but we soon enclosed the guard with our horse, and then they did cast away their arms and endeavoured to run away.

At that guard we slew one Captain John Needham, and they two of our horses, but God be praised we lost not one man. Within one hour after, they surrendered the castle upon con-

dition to march to Ludlow, leaving their arms behind them, and the Irish who were within the castle to be hanged, which is performed. There was one outwork at the other end of the town, called Franckwell, which they held, but upon our coming against them they presently delivered it upon quarter only for their lives. God be blessed for this great mercy.

Prince Rupert marched this day within six miles of this town, over Severn, at a place called Byldwas: he is reported to be 5000 with those that are to join with him from Newark. Prince Maurice lieth this night at Chirk Castle, as I am now informed by a messenger from Oswalstree, whither I am now enforced to go, having received some intelligence from thence which will concern my being speedily there. I humbly take leave, and remain

Your humble and faithful servant,

THOS. MITTON.

Shrewsbury, March 15th,
10 *at Night.*

When Sir Thomas's list of officers went up to the Lords there were considerable doubts and many conferences; and it was not till the 18th—that is to say a full fortnight of terrible suspense, at a time when moments had the value of days—that the Lords agreed to the list. The Commons were thrown into such an ecstasy at receiving their Lordships' assent, as to send them up a message of congratulation, assuring them of their affection, and of their resolution to support them in their honours and privileges.

This was excellent policy. The House of Lords was the House of Obstacles to the Commons; but it was no

part of the business of the Commons to subvert the other branch of the Legislature, since, much as it stood in their way on pressing occasions like the present, it would have been much more in their way had it gone over to the other side. Be it observed, too, that no question had ever been raised about the privileges of the Lords, or even the privileges of the King. The whole question was the abuse of privileges, and the denial of rights. It was as strictly, therefore, within the province of the Commons to sustain the just exercise of the Lords' privileges, as it would have been to resist the abuse of them.

Besides, there was urgent work waiting for the approbation of the Lords, and it was more essential than ever to cultivate friendly relations between the two Houses. The Self-denying Ordinance had yet to be carried, for, although the Lords had already rejected it, the Commons were resolved it should pass, and had no sooner got Fairfax's list safely endorsed by the Peers, than they took up the ordinance again, read it a first and second time, and committed it at a single sitting, and in a week sent it back to the Upper House. Their Lordships had grown wise in the interval, and passed the measure at once. On the same day, 3rd April, Sir Thomas Fairfax went to Windsor, where he vigorously commenced his new-modelling of the army, recruiting the old forces, and re-shaping the whole into fresh companies and regiments. In three weeks from that day he was again in the field.

The most significant circumstance in the *management*

of the new-modelling was the evasion of the Self-denying Ordinance, by the retention of Cromwell in his command. Under the provisions of the ordinance, Cromwell was incapacitated, in common with all other Members of Parliament, from serving in the army; but it was necessary for the public interest that he should be there, and, after some little fencing with the difficulty in the first instance, a formal dispensation was obtained from Parliament in June, which enabled him to devote himself thenceforward to the camp. In the mean time, Essex, Manchester, Denbigh, and the rest of the obnoxious commanders, in addition to some whose loss was to be regretted, had resigned with as good a grace as they could put on under compulsion.

While these matters were taking place in London and Windsor, Lord Fairfax was overwhelmed by feuds and troubles in the North—clamorous applications for exchanges and passes, for the raising of subsidies, and removal of suspected persons, followed up by remonstrances in proportion, complaints of military outrages and personal indignities, treacheries and surprises, feints, skirmishes, and threatening notices, with a terrible clatter of fifes and drums, from all points of the compass. A selection from the correspondence of this period will show what sort of variegated responsibilities, independently of hard garrison duty, devolved upon his lordship.

From the following letter it appears that spies, carefully disguised, were going about the country :—

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY SINGULAR GOOD LORD, THE LORD FAIRFAX, LORD GENERAL OF THE NORTHERN FORCES FOR THE KING AND PARLIAMENT, HUMBLY THESE PRESENT.

My good Lord,

I have stumbled upon an intelligence which I thought fit to be communicated to your lordship in way of the public service. There were in this town, about a week since, two gentlemen which came from Carlisle, and were making, as I am informed, towards Oxford. They would not discover their names. They were disguised. One of them had his periwig very long on his shoulders; the other of them was somewhat flat-faced, with his chin bending upwards; and one of them had his eye covered with a black patch. They left word with one ill enough affected, that my son, now in Carlisle (if he were not one of the two before mentioned), was in health, and in great account there, at which I did not much rejoice; but they gave an especial charge that they should not be mentioned to me until three or four days after their departure, which was duly observed.

They seemed to intend their return this way within a fortnight, which, if they do, will be about Monday or Tuesday next. If they could be lighted on in their return, they may happily better your lordship's information of the estate of that place. What to advise your lordship in way thereof (the malignity of this town is such) I know not, but I must leave it to your lordship's wisdom; only I thought it the duty of the Covenant which I have taken, and of the zeal I have for the cause now contended for, to give your honour

this information, which, with my humble duty, I present unto your lordship, and rest, my lord,

Your humble servant,

THO. DARCY.

Ripon, this 12th of February, 1644, [*N. S.* 1645.]

The next correspondent is Sir George Wentworth, brother to the Earl of Strafford. This was the gentleman whose marriage with "Mistress Ruisshe" has been already noticed.* He was a Privy Councillor in Ireland, and writes, on this occasion, to Lord Fairfax, to thank him for the protection extended by his lordship to the Strafford family, or such of them as were yet left at the old seat of Wentworth Woodhouse, in Yorkshire. The young Earl (at this time pursuing his education abroad) was restored to his title and estates at the Restoration.

SIR GEORGE WENTWORTH TO THE LORD FAIRFAX.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

THE great nobleness you are pleased to use to that poor broken family at Woodhouse, is that for which we are bound, not alone in words, but in all other ways to acknowledge with all gratitude; and I assure myself, that nobleman whose fortune it is will so receive your favours therein, that in all thankfulness they will be returned you. Whilst he is attending his education abroad, be pleased to give me leave, as a person near in affections as in blood, and trusted with that

* Fairfax Correspondence, Memoirs, I. lxi.

estate, to render both in his lordship and my own behalf, very hearty acknowledgments to your lordship.

And, my lord, I humbly beg the continuance of your nobleness to that place and the ministers employed therein, as there shall be occasion, which I can no ways make doubt of, ever remaining

Your lordship's most humble servant,

G. WENTWORTH.

Dublin, March the 2nd, 1644, [*N. S.* 1645.]

Of the movements of the troops about Bradford and Wakefield we have succinct reports in letters from Sir John Savile.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINAND LORD FAIRFAX, LORD GENERAL OF THE NORTH, THESE.

MY LORD,

BEING now drawn off with my horse and foot from Sandall to Bradford, Yorkshire, I thought it expedient to give your lordship an account thereof, and the reasons which induced me to do it. My lord, it was past three in the afternoon on Saturday last before your orders came from Colonel Forbes to draw off to Ferrybridge, which (though I used all possible expedition therein) I could not do until within night, and then began to march with not above 240 horse and foot in all; for reason of the sudden notice, many of my men were absent, expecting to have found no enemy either at Pontefract or Ferrybridge, but discovered them at both places, by intelligence from some of them whom we took prisoners. Whereupon we were forced to break up their

quarters in Longhoughton, where some troops of Colonel Carnaby quartered. We forced our passage there with divers of their horse and some men of theirs prisoners, and it was generally conceived most secure to make for Bradford, in regard we did not know how the enemy had dispersed themselves towards Leeds.

My lord, your lordship may perceive by these inclosed what a distraction this late accident hath wrought in these western places. I have been prevailed with to summon all within this division, from sixteen to sixty, to be in readiness with such arms as they have at Bradford, where both they and I shall wait your lordship's further direction to,

Your lordship's faithful servant,

JOHN SAVILE.

Bradford, March 2nd, 1644, [*N. S.* 1645.]

My Lord, Captain Kenyon has assisted me hitherto with his troop, and is now with me. Major Scarfe, who was sent me by the Committee, has marched away without order; I desire your lordship's further order concerning Captain Kenyon.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, LORD GENERAL OF THE NORTH, THESE.

MY LORD,

I DISPATCHED my last letter to your lordship in haste, immediately after a tedious march, by which we were partly so toiled and partly so employed in securing our quarters, by reason of continual but false reports of the enemies' approach, that I hope your lordship will excuse me that it came not by a better hand. My lord, it pleased God

to bless and preserve us in the attempt beyond our expectation; for, my lord, finding the enemy both in Pontefract and Ferrybridge, which we little imagined, and having given them an alarm in both places, we were in that extremity, that we scarce knew whither to turn; but it pleased God to incline us for Longhoughton, where we broke through their quarters without the loss of any, wherein we took about 100 horse and some prisoners. This bearer can acquaint your lordship more particularly, being an agent with us in the enterprise.

We have notice that the enemy is retreating to Doncaster, but we hear of Prince Rupert's advance on this side Gloucester. Now that the country about Wakefield is not secured, the enemy at Sandall ranges at pleasure. My lord, upon the first notice I shall be ready with these forces to wait on your lordship to receive your further commands to, my lord,

Your lordship's faithful servant,

JOHN SAVILE.

Bradford, March 3rd, 1644, [*N. S.* 1645.]

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, GENERAL OF THE NORTH, THESE PRESENT.

MY LORD,

I HAVE sent a messenger into Nottinghamshire, and he is returned. I thought fit to send Major Scarfe to you, to tell your lordship the particulars; the enemy is not this side of Newark, and the messenger saw all our horse at their rendezvous on Wednesday, at Mansfield, and Major Carter told him they would be at Ferrybrigg on Saturday. The town of Leeds was too fearful that I sent all my foot

thither, and if I should have had occasion to have removed from hence, I might have made my retreat thither to my foot, and so have marched in an entire body to Tadcaster. So they remain there till I shall receive further order. I shall humbly desire your lordship we may have some match and powder, and that Captain Clayton's men and Captain Spencer's may be sent thither to recruit and enjoy with the rest of my regiment. Colonel Broadling I have sent for to come together at Methley, and to make good that pass. Yesterday, at 3 o'clock, he heard nothing of the enemy, but only Pontefract horse fetching in provisions; neither know anything of the cause of Colonel Forbes leaving Leadston. And he lay then quartered at Badsworth Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, for Sir Joseph Worstenholme would not let him quarter at Nostall. In haste, I rest,

Yours ever to serve you,

JOHN SAVILE.

Wakefield, March 14th, 1644, [*N. S.* 1645.]

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, LORD GENERAL OF THE NORTH, THESE PRESENT.

MY LORD,

YOUR lordship may remember your lordship's order to Captain Spencer for his march to the rest of my regiment at Wakefield, to join with me in securing Sandall Castle, which he did accordingly; since that (beyond my expectation) another order from your lordship is come to his hands, for his march to Colonal Bright's regiment, there to remain till the difference be determined. My lord, it hath been my desire from the beginning to put an end to the controversy,

if at least there be any; but, my lord, he being now with me in obedience to your lordship's first order, and this last order procured in my absence, and upon suggestions which Captain Spencer himself disaffirms (for he denies the supply of any either men or armies from Colonel Lambert), and besides the common soldiers being unwilling to part from the regiment; my request to your lordship is, that they may stay with me, according to their desires, their Captain's commission, and your lordship's first order; and if any exceptions be taken, I must solely own the fault, which I hope your lordship's candour will judge to be innocency in

Your lordship's humble servant,

JOHN SAVILE.

Wakefield, March 22nd, 1644, [*N. S.* 1645.]

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, LORD GENERAL OF THE NORTHERN FORCES, THESE PRESENT.

MY LORD,

I HAVE endeavoured to inform myself of their strength at Sandall, and find that they are one hundred foot and fifty horse, besides those fifty horse lately gone out upon a party from Pontefract garrison, and could not return to it again by reason of our leaguer there. I advised with the officers here, and the result was, that we were too inconsiderable to lie in Sandall, for we are not above 150 foot, now that Captain Spencer is marched, as (it seems) your lordship's pleasure is; and we humbly conceive 300 foot and six troops of horse, of fifty in every troop, to be a proportion small enough for that attempt; yet I refer myself in this, as

in all things else, to your lordship's wise consideration; waiting for your lordship's further commands to

Your humble servant,

JOHN SAVILE.

Wakefield, March 23rd, 1644, [*N. S.* 1645.]

I have here only Major Scarfe's troop, my own troop, Captain Kinian's troop, and I expect Major Carter's troop, according to your lordship's order; so we shall want two troops more.

My Lord,—all the duty and charge of the horse might be spared, if your lordship would be pleased to afford us two pieces of ordnance, and some more foot to guard them, to batter the gates and drawbridge, and it would much discourage them, in regard they have no other sallyport.

About the same time, Lord Fairfax received intelligence from London, apprising him of the approach of a powerful force under the command of Prince Rupert, whose junction with the Royalists in the North was seriously to be apprehended.

SIR THOMAS WIDDRINGTON TO THE LORD FAIRFAX.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I AM sorry to hear of the sad accident in Yorkshire. Is it very probable that the storm will yet be greater there. Prince Rupert is gone northward also; and it is conceived that Prince Rupert, Prince Maurice, and Langdale will, in conclusion, fall into one body, which will make a considerable army. The new model is not yet grown into an army. The

list of officers approved by the House of Commons is, in many particulars, disapproved of by the House of Lords, with a recommendation of other persons in their places, and this day sent back to the House of Commons, for the debate of which to-morrow is appointed. It is hoped that 80,000*l.* will be very shortly ready for this army by the help of the Court of Aldermen and the Common Council, which is to be assured unto them out of the monies arising out of the ordinances for the new model. A committee of the House of Commons spent Friday and Saturday in the last week at Grocers' Hall, in London, upon this occasion.

I have newly received your lordship's by this post. I should be most willing to wait upon your lordship, but cannot yet see how I can do it; and am very doubtful that Colonel Whyte cannot be spared from hence in regard of Sir Thomas Fairfax's occasions, in which his presence is very necessary and useful, but I shall let him know your lordship's pleasure herein. The matter for your lordship's army is not yet settled; nor, indeed, can the Ordinance be perfected till the model for the army be presented to the House from the Committee of both Kingdoms, which is not yet done, nor am I able to tell you the reason why it is not. There are 500 muskets provided for you out of the stores, and order for 1000 more to be taken upon credit. I have no more to add but the poor sentiment of my duty to your lordship, remaining,

My lord,

Your lordship's humble servant,

TH. WIDDRINGTON.

March 11*th*, 1644, [*N. S.* 1645.]

My Lord, since I wrote my former lines I have spoken with Colonel Whyte touching your desires mentioned in

your lordship's letter to me; and he hopes within ten days to be able to wait upon your lordship; and, for my particular, I hope ere long I shall obtain leave to do the like, for I am told this day that the model for your lordship's army will be presented to the House upon Thursday; and I hope, within a few days after, to have the ordinance ready.

T. W.

It is this day recommended to the Committee of both Kingdoms to move the Scots to a present march, and the same to be towards Chester. Some part of their money is ready for them, and will be sent from hence upon Monday.

The "late accident," and the "sad accident," so delicately alluded to by Sir John Savile and Sir Francis Widdrington, was nothing less than the total defeat of Lord Fairfax's army before Pontefract, by Sir Marmaduke Langdale. On the Parliamentary side the loss was considerable, more than 1000 men, and all their colours and ammunition, besides several officers of note, amongst them, Colonels Armyn, Thornton, and Malevery; on the Royalist side the loss was trifling. This was, indeed, a very sad "accident," and one, too, which might have been fatally disastrous in its results, had it not been for the prompt measures which the Parliament took to secure themselves against such accidents for the future.

The wounded were numerous, and concerning their treatment and the exchange of prisoners, we have the following short letters from Colonel Lowther, the governor of Pontefract Castle.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, THESE.

My Lord,

Your officers will inform you how far you are short in medicaments, the number of the wounded considered. Here is a chirurgeon of your party that will go as far as he can with such things as he hath received. Your lordship will receive with this a list of officers and soldiers, if I may receive the like from you upon a safe-conduct. I shall send officers to treat of a general exchange, and remain,

My lord,
Your humble servant,
Richard Lowther.

Pontefract Castle, March 5th, 1644, [*N. S.* 1645.]

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, THESE.

My Lord,

Your lordship's of the 7th of this instant came but this morning: for the time and place, the first is precipitated, for the other it is at too great a distance. If your lordship please to give a meeting at Ferrybridge, upon mutual engagements for the safety of those who shall be appointed to treat upon both parties, I shall agree to it, and to that purpose desire a new safe-conduct for such as I shall nominate; the time, Wednesday next, by nine in the morning. The list your lordship sent of our prisoners with yours is altogether imperfect. I desire a particular under whose commands and in what regiments they have served, as also a list from Hull and Teressell in the same way. For your chirurgeon I cannot admit of him; but if the medicaments be sent, I shall join

my own surgeons with one of your party, a prisoner here, to use the best of their art in the cure of the poor wounded soldiers, and shall remain,

My lord,
Your humble servant,
RICHARD LOWTHER.

Pontefract Castle, March 9th, 1644, [*N. S.* 1645.]

The next letter, without a date, refers also to an exchange, the writer having obtained permission to depart upon parole, on strict conditions that by a certain day he should obtain the return of a Parliament officer of equal rank. He procured his man, but was unable to keep time "by reason of the siege;" and here is his manly letter of explanation. There is a reminiscence of the knightly age in the gallantry with which he holds himself ready to return, if required, "his lordship's true prisoner."

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX.

MY LORD,

IT may seem strange to your lordship that I never sent to disengage my word; the truth is, I never had any convenience by reason of the siege. The exchange is granted me for Lieut.-Colonel Forbes; only this doubt was made, whether your lordship would be satisfied with the exchange. I have stayed beyond my time, which that your lordship will be pleased to satisfy Sir John Readman, Governor of Pontefract, that I shall be disengaged of my word, he will, upon

the receipt of your lordship's letter, return you Lieut.-Colonel Forbes. In the mean time, I rest,

My lord,

Your lordship's most humble servant,

WILLM. ST. GEORGE.

If your lordship shall not be pleased to accept this, by reason I could not perform my word so punctually as I could have wished, I shall return your lordship's true prisoner, when your lordship shall command.

How grievously Lord Fairfax was hampered and tantalised by applications for exchanges and safe conducts,—the thanks being quite as troublesome as the remonstrances and complaints—may be inferred from the following specimens.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT YORK, THESE PRESENT.

MY LORD,

UPON the assurance of your lordship's letter, or any other way that your lordship shall think fit, I shall for the time to come faithfully observe those articles formerly concluded of. My lord, if I were not again engaged to request your lordship for a pass for the Lady Cooke, I should not importune your lordship upon any other occasion; but if your lordship shall think it reasonable to be granted, I shall most readily acknowledge the favour, either in the like or any other occasion, and remain,

My lord,

Your lordship's most humble servant,

R. WILLYS.

If your lordship shall think fit to suffer Mr. Rowbotham to come over hither, I shall give your lordship my faith for his safe return. If your lordship please to let me know what officers you demand for Sir Simon Fanshaw from Pomfret, I shall endeavour to effect the change with Sir Marmaduke Langdale.

Newark, March 9th, 1644, [*N. S.* 1645.]

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT YORK.

My Lord,

Whensoever your lordship pleases to command me, I shall most readily acknowledge your lordship's favour in giving the Countess of Cork a safe convoy, by doing the like upon the like occasion. The governor of Pomfret writes me word, that Sir Simon Fanshaw is mistaken for a lieutenant-general, upon which his exchange is hindered. I do assure your lordship, by all the ways I am enabled to engage myself, that he was only lieutenant-colonel of horse to Sir Charles Lucas, who was the lieutenant-general. Therefore, if your lordship shall think the exchange for Mr. Mulling and a lieutenant proportionable to him, it shall be continued by,

My lord,

Your lordship's most humble servant,

R. Willys.

I trust so much to your lordship's letter, that hereafter I hope there will arise no question concerning prisoners but what that may determine.

Newark, March 17th, 1645, [*N. S.* 1646.]

FOR HIS EXCELLENCE THE LORD FAIRFAX, GENERAL OF THE NORTH, THESE.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

ACCORDING to an order from the general of the Scotch army, the Lord Montgomery was pleased to acquaint your excellency with my capitulation of surrendering Naward Castle, and you were pleased to give me your pass agreeably. My lord, a party of the Scotch Horse conveyed me to Pontefract, where the Commander-in-chief, Colonel Forbes, undertook my farther convoy; but it so fell out that some party of the King's advancing, and your horse retreating, it was not held fit I should pass then, but I was modestly requested to retire to some place until your present affair was over, which I had no reason to refuse; but I went back to Gilling, where I have kept myself, expecting, within such limits as my present condition and your affairs require.

My lord, I hope your business will permit that I may now go, and I shall humbly request your excellency will please either to certify me by writing if it be your mind I should pass by your quarters, or you will please to command some officer or trumpet to convoy me the way least prejudicial to your guards, or business. My lord, your action in this shall seriously oblige,

Your excellency's most humble servant,

J. ATKINS.

Gilling Castle, 22nd March, 1644, [*N. S.* 1645.]

Of another kind is a petition from old grandfather Mulgrave, interceding on behalf of his tenants who are too poor to pay taxes, and entreating the appointment

of a ghostly lecturer for the town of L——. This is the last letter we find from Lord Mulgrave, and it is worth comparison with that famous first letter, in which he opened a correspondence with the Fairfaxes. His lordship was then in the palmy days of his Presidency, and he wrote as haughtily and with as lofty an expression of his aristocracy as if there was to be no end to the world as it was constituted at that time. But the wheel had turned round in the meanwhile, and the Fairfaxes were now at the top, and poor Lord Mulgrave was prostrate at the bottom, and he writes up to his son-in-law an entreaty for help and protection in a tone of forlorn humility, which makes most piteous contrast with his former lordly arrogance.

TO MY NOBLE LORD AND SON-IN-LAW, THE LORD FAIRFAX, THESE.

My good Lord,

Presuming still upon your favour, I make bold to address myself to your lordship in the behalf of my tenants at Mulgrave and at Seaton, whose poor low condition I presume is not unknown unto you, by reason of the late heavy taxes laid upon them for the maintenance of the Scots army in those parts. There being now an Ordinance of Parliament issued for new sums of money to be raised in Yorkshire and elsewhere, my earnest suit to your lordship and the Committee of both Kingdoms is, that their miserable case be as favourably considered as may be possible, they being altogether, as I am informed, destitute of means for their own livelihood, and

likewise unable to pay any rent. I do assure myself, my good lord, that you will have a just and charitable respect of them, having (as I understand) borne a greater burthen than others in that behalf.

I must further crave your lordship's help in a pious work. The town of L—— hath 100*l.* per annum allowed from the alum-works, for a lecturer; that exercise hath been deserted by a malignant minister long since, so that the poor people have wanted the spiritual means they formerly enjoyed. Shipton, my steward, hath found one Mr. Nes, of whom he gives testimony to be an able godly preacher: if he be so, I do entreat your lordship to afford him your best furtherance for his establishment in that place. I doubt not of your lordship's care in a work which will be acceptable to God, and will also produce much comfort to

Your very loving father-in-law,

MULGRAVE.

March 30th, 1645.

Next comes Peter du Moulin, who had at last been forcibly ejected, head and shoulders, wife and servants, out of his living, and who in the last extremity appeals, but appeals in vain, to Lord Fairfax, the general referee for all Yorkshire discontents.

PETER DU MOULIN TO LORD FAIRFAX.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

A THING without example was done against me on Saturday, March 29th; for I have heard of no minister residing and serving God in his church, that was forcibly put

out, but myself. With what violence my wife and servants were ejected your lordship may know, and God seeth it.

After I had appealed to the King and Parliament, and that your lordship had promised me a reference to prevent the appeal, neither your promise nor my appeal was respected, but I was violently cast out, by persons that abuse your lordship's authority. The Lord regard it, that great Judge, before whom we must all appear.

My lord, I stand to my appeal, after which I conceive that no other power but King and Parliament can eject me.

To that end, your honour and justice will not deny me these just requests: That I may have a copy of the Articles against me, which I never saw: that I may have a warrant from your lordship to summon witnesses: that your lordship appoint some for that examination who may certify it under their hands: that I may have a convenient time to prepare myself: that I be possessed of my house and church till I be condemned by the power to which I appeal.

So shall your lordship mitigate the hard measure I had when I was condemned without a minute's warning, without witnesses, without so much as seeing the charge against me, or leave to answer the accusers' witnesses in the hearing.

Those things, my lord, cry for justice; and so do these:

After I had with great care prepared many young persons for the holy communion, and the whole parish expecting that blessing the next day, to pluck me off violently from this service, to put in my church a chaplain of Sir William, at the request of one household of notorious Anabaptists, that now keep a child unbaptised, teach community of goods, and reject all ordinary calling to the ministry as Antichrist's; against the many petitions, cries, and tears of above two hundred communicants, good Protestants;—to tear off a

faithful pastor from a loving people, a husband from his wife, and both from house and living; I say, my lord, these things cry up to heaven, and will shortly fill up the cup of God's judgments, and make it overflow, if not timely prevented by your justice and mercy.

Standing then upon my appeal and your promise, I humbly crave of your lordship a favourable answer to my just rights, even by the compassions of Christ and the fear of his great wrath; so shall ye draw blessing upon yourself by the charity and righteousness of the action (for I demand nothing but what the strictness of justice cannot deny); and by the prayers of my desolate parish, my distressed wife, and myself.

Your honour's most poor, humble servant,

PETER DU MOULIN.

York, March 30th, 1645.

May it please your good lordship to allow me the liberty of my house, and express your pleasure about these humble requests of mine to Captain Hoyle, of whose gentleness I must needs speak well. Not he, but the divines, expressed a great deal of violence against me.

The Fairfaxes showed much consideration and liberality to the families of the broken Royalists. It is pleasant to find the deserted Newcastles as much cared for as the Wentworths, remembering the gallantry which preserved Lady Fairfax at Bradford, and sent her home with an escort in the General's coach. Such actions were not forgotten in the crush and din of war by the Fairfaxes. Writing from Welbeck Abbey, Notts (now one of the seats of the Duke of Portland), the ladies Jane and

Frances Cavendish express their earnest thanks to Lord Fairfax for the constant favours he has extended to them, having evidently protected them on their estate, and otherwise provided for their comfort and security. These ladies were the daughters of the Duke of Newcastle, who, by the time the letter was written, had found his way to Paris with his two sons and his brother, having left his daughters behind to propitiate the Parliament as they might.

Bolsover Castle (also in the possession of the Duke of Portland), here mentioned as having been turned into a garrison, was the ancient seat of the Barony of Cavendish in Derby; and "Sister Brackley" was the Lady Elizabeth Cavendish, who was married to the second Earl of Bridgewater, Viscount Brackley. The writers of this letter were afterwards married, the Lady Jane to Charles Cheney, Earl of Bucks, and the Lady Frances to the second Earl of Bolingbroke, whose whole family were zealously devoted to the cause of the Parliament.

FOR HIS EXCELLENCE THE LORD FAIRFAX, THESE HUMBLY PRESENT.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

YOUR favours are so continued to us, that they are not only to be acknowledged, but repeated as comforts, since your lordship's care of us we may justly confess is much beyond our merit. Now give us leave to present our humble

thanks to your lordship for your noble favours, which oblige us as long as we live to owe your excellence a faithful acknowledgment. Colonel Bright hath been lately at Bolsover, and is to give your lordship some account of that garrison.

We linger our remove from thence till we have some certainty of that business, hoping, if that he concur with the committee of Derby and some others for disgarrison of that place, to have the favour to be admitted to that house, which we the more desire by reason that town is assigned to us for maintenance, which will yield very little, I fear, if it continue still a garrison. However, whatsoever your excellence's pleasure, it shall be most welcome to

Your lordship's most humble and obliged servants,

JANE CAVENDYSSHE,
FRA. CAVENDYSSHE.

April 17th, 1645.

My sister Brackley presents her most humble services to your lordship, and gives your excellence many thanks for the favour of your lordship's protection.

At the head of the list of officers of horse, drawn up by Sir Thomas Fairfax for the approval of Parliament, we find the name of Middleton. The person so indicated was, we presume, Lieutenant-General Middleton, who had served under Waller, and was afterwards, for his gallant conduct at Philiphaugh (September, 1645), voted 25,000 marks by Parliament. This gentleman subsequently ratted to the Royal party, for which he was rewarded in the long run with a Peerage, having

been created Earl of Middleton at the Restoration. No other Middleton of note, either for good or evil, has come down to us from those days. Evelyn tells us that he carried a Colonel Middleton, who seems to have been connected with the colony of New England, in his coach to Whitehall; but that was in 1671, a clear quarter of a century later. Who the Colonel Middleton was to whom allusion is made in the following letters, or under what circumstances he incurred the displeasure of Lord Fairfax, we have not been able to ascertain. Certain it is that he was not Charles the Second's Middleton; and that, whoever he was, he appears to have broken his promises to Lord Fairfax on the confession of his wife and sisters.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, LORD GENERAL OF THE NORTH, PRESENT THESE.

My Lord,

Be pleased to do me the right as to believe, when as my husband parted from me, his resolution was according as I wrote yesterday to your lordship. I protest I knew no other, nor cannot rest satisfied till I send my servant to plead my own innocence in it, and to acquaint your lordship with the truth, which is this: that after Mr. Middleton parted from me, he had further confirmation of what formerly he had heard, which compelled him to that unfortunate place, as I perceive, so incapable of your lordship's favours, as I conceive by my servants for his own particular; but if your lordship would honour me in the continuance of

them, to me and mine, I would ever endeavour to deserve it, as that already I have received from your lordship may challenge as due from me, and the longest day I have to live will ever acknowledge it. Give me leave, further, to be an humble suitor to your lordship, as to blot out the memory of this, my husband's trespass. But esteem him as really he deserves—as one that truly honours your lordship, though his great cares of fears and jealousies might cause him for the present to forfeit your lordship's good opinion, but I hope for the future to gain it,—a gain which both he and I will be ambitious on; and in the meantime remain, my lord,

Your most humble servant,

KA. MIDDLETON.

April 20th, 1645.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, LORD GENERAL OF THE NORTH.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY

To vouchsafe me and my sister Ann your honourable favour and protection for our goods, and that we may not suffer though my brother hath broke his promise with your lordship; which I vow, my lord, I was altogether ignorant of, and it grieves me infinitely; for that we have ever found your lordship so noble a friend to our house. Therefore I beseech your lordship to commiserate our cases, who are left orphans, and for my dear deceased father's sake, who loved and honoured your lordship truly, let not us, who are innocent, suffer; but that your wonted goodness and favour

may still reflect and shine upon us, by which you shall oblige us ever to remain, my lord,

Your lordship's most humble servants,

MARY MIDDLETON.
ANNE MIDDLETON.

April 20th, 1645.

A letter from Lady Osborne, begging Lord Fairfax's assistance under rather peculiar circumstances, shows how the machinery of protection occasionally worked. Lady Osborne (formerly Mrs. Middleton, a brave Yorkshire widow) was the wife of Sir Edward Osborne of Kiveton, and mother of the first Duke of Leeds. Sir Edward had been prominent on the King's side, had been Vice-President of the Council of the North, and a commander amongst the Cavaliers. In the course of the troubles he obtained a protection from Lord Fairfax, under his parole as to residence and neutrality. But news reaches him that there is a warrant out against him; and although "he is well assured that when his lordship had given protection he would not give warrant for apprehending" him; he nevertheless thinks that discretion is the better part of valour, and so runs away, leaving his wife behind to make what terms she can with the General. In this juncture her ladyship hears that the Parliament troops up in garrison at Bolsover, and others scattered about the country, intend to make a plundering descent upon her, and, as a last resource, she lays the whole case frankly

before Lord Fairfax. The latter part of her letter, referring to her allowance, and her "taking it up in beds and other household necessaries," shows the extremity to which people of the best condition were reduced—people who, under the worst circumstances, might be supposed to have good credit and strong friends.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, LORD GENERAL OF THE NORTH AT YORK, THESE PRESENT.

My Lord,

It is now above six months since my husband received your lordship's protection, and by it has lived quiet at his own house, desiring nothing more than to have continued so. But after Gell's men had taken Sir Francis Reed, they gave out they were to take Sir Francis Fane and Sir Edward Osborne; as my husband was informed from several hands; which gave him cause to fear that Gell had got some warrant from the Parliament to take them for the four committee men of Derby, taken by Newark. For he was well assured that where your lordship had given protection, you would not give warrant for apprehending their persons without cause given for it; but having no time to give your lordship information he was forced to seek for his safety.

Thus, my lord, I only wish to give a true account of the reasons of his going, because I know he has many enemies; no way to justify his actions. He must answer for them himself; but since his going, I am threatened both by Colonel Bright's men, the men of Bolsover, and them from Doncaster, that I shall be plundered; so as my earnest request to

your lordship is, that what the Ordinance of Parliament and the county of York has allowed me may not be taken from me by the violence of your soldiers. It is no more but a sixth part or degree below the ordinary allowance, and came to so small a proportion, that I was forced to take it up in beds and other household necessaries for myself and servants, which I doubt not but in justice and charity will still be allowed me. It is only in your lordship's power to do it; and by a letter to Colonel Bright to stop the men of Bolsover, and another to the Commander-in-chief at Doncaster, I assure myself I shall be freed from their fury, and be further obliged to continue

Your lordship's most humble servant,

ANN OSBORNE.

All my corn and cattle were sold to one John Garland by the sequestrators, as the committee knows.

Thorp, April 23rd, 1645.

The General's "protection," however formally granted, was not always a talisman against the licentious violence of the soldiery. An army ill paid, irregularly provisioned, and cast out for billets and assessments upon districts already drained by subscriptions and quit-rents, could hardly be expected to act with faultless moderation. Upon the whole they deserve credit for forbearance; few flagrant violations of discipline can be charged upon them; and in most cases (of which Oxford was a special instance) they were more careful than the King's troops of property which they might have destroyed with impunity.

Of course there were many just grounds of complaint against them. Whenever a Royalist, who held a protection, suddenly disappeared, he was suspected of treachery, and the soldiers made no scruple of entering his house, (or threatening its inmates), with or without warrant, and scaring his family out of their wits. Or if there were any difficulty about the billets, or any attempt to evade them, the troops, having this matter in their own hands, and being authorised to enforce the levy, might probably show little tenderness towards their grudging entertainers. In such cases, harsh and riotous excesses were no doubt committed; nor was it in the power of Lord Fairfax adequately to prevent or punish them.

But the soldiers seldom went beyond threats, unless they were in extreme distress, or had received singular provocation. The great bulk of the complaints addressed to Lord Fairfax, like the following letter from Lady Graham, are full of terrors in expectancy; and as we rarely hear any more about them, we may conclude that his worship interposed and averted the impending danger. So far as Lady Graham was concerned, there was excellent reason for the vigilance of Major Smithson's men. Her husband (to whom the letter refers) was Sir Richard Graham of Esk, closely connected by blood and alliances with the whole clan of the Grahams of the Border, of Norton-Conyers, of Netherby, and Plomp, and springing from the same stock with the Montrose who exactly twelve months before had been

raised to a marquisate by the King, who had played a conspicuous part throughout the war, and was at this moment raising Scotland in behalf of his master. The name of Graham, therefore, was not the most musical in the ears of the Parliamentarians, and Sir Richard was one of the most prominent and turbulent of the whole race. He was a great absorber of landed property in the north, had purchased Netherby and the barony of Liddell from the Earl of Cumberland, and was created a baronet in 1629. Placing his local influence at the disposal of the King, he joined the royal army in 1641, and was appointed Master of the Horse to the Duke of Buckingham. He fought through the subsequent scenes of the wars up to the battle of Edgehill, where he was so severely wounded that he lay the whole night amongst the dead bodies on the field. His close connection with the Royal family, and his notorious devotion to their cause, may be admitted as excuse enough for the watchfulness of Fairfax's soldiers when they found that this deeply-implicated gentleman, known to be living under "protection," had vanished, as they supposed, without leave. The time, too, was peculiarly unfavourable to the Grahams, considering how actively Montrose (not long afterwards hanged at the Tolbooth of Edinburgh for his loyalty) was just then engaged on the other side of the Tweed.

Lady Graham's letter is dated from Norton-Conyers, the seat of her second son Richard, who after the Restoration was raised to the baronetage on account

of the services he had personally rendered to the King's cause during the civil war. It is only justice to the Northumberland Smithsons to observe that the Major Smithson whose soldiers threatened to plunder her ladyship does not appear to have been any connection of that family. At the moment when the Major was menacing Norton-Conyers, Hugh Smithson of Stanwick, whose descendant, succeeding the Seymours and Percys, inherited the Earldom of Northumberland, was distinguishing himself with equal zeal on the other side.

FOR HIS EXCELLENCY FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, LORD GENERAL OF THE NORTH, THESE PRESENT.

RIGHT TRULY HONOURABLE,

NOTWITHSTANDING the protection I have from your Excellence, there are some of Major Smithson's soldiers who threaten to plunder my house, because my husband is gone to wait upon his master, having your lordship's licence for the same; and now, in his absence, Mr. Fowke, the Receiver, demands for the use of the Commonwealth, a quit-rent due from us, we having already paid it above ten times over, in billet and sesse [assessments] for the use of the Commonwealth, being much more than the land is worth. If it be permitted that private ends may once be mixed with the public service, we are in a most miserable condition.

My suit unto your excellency is, that you would give order to the Receiver for allowing our sesse and billet in the rent, and that some of your lordship's soldiers may apprehend those plunderers; for it will neither stand with the justice

nor honour of the Parliament to take such great sesses and our arms of defence from us, and leave us to the cruelty of such wicked men. So, with the acknowledgment of my humblest service for your honourable favours, recommending the presumption herein to your excellency's pardon,

I am,

The humblest of your excellency's servants,

KATHERINE GRAHME.

Norton-Conyers, near Ripon, Yorkshire,
May 12th, 1645.

The writer of the next letter, the Lady Julian Musgrave, was an object of quite as much jealousy and suspicion as Lady Graham. Her husband, Sir Philip Musgrave, came of what Camden calls a "warlike family," and did no discredit to his lineage. The moment matters took a shape of open hostility between the King and the Parliament, he withdrew from the House of Commons, where he had sat as one of the knights of the shire for Westmoreland, and applied himself to the task of raising troops for the Royal service. His labours were so successful, that in a short time he sent to the Marquis of Newcastle, at York, in two bodies, no less than 2400 soldiers, and 1000 more to Prince Rupert. For this valuable aid he was made Commander-in-Chief in Cumberland and Westmoreland, where his influence principally lay, and Governor of Carlisle. The battle of Marston Moor scattered his troops to the winds, and for a time completely frustrated his plans. After that event he retired to Carlisle

with Sir Thomas Glenham. It was while he was yet at Carlisle, under these uncomfortable circumstances, that the ensuing correspondence took place. Lady Musgrave had been permitted by Lord Fairfax to remain at Eden Hall (still the residence of the Musgraves, erroneously called Ednall, by Colonel Cholmley); but the Commissioners at Newcastle having intelligence that she had abused the indulgence, directed Colonel Cholmley to remove her to Carlisle. Her ladyship, however, was very reluctant to go to Carlisle; she wished to keep in the open air, and at freedom amongst her friends; and Colonel Cholmley finally refers the case, with a direct appeal from the lady, to Lord Fairfax.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HIS EXCELLENCE, MY LORD FERDINANDO FAIRFAX, AT YORK, THESE.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCE,

I RECEIVED an order from the commissioners from Newcastle, for the carrying and sending divers ladies into Carlisle; amongst others the Lady Musgrave, of Ednall, as you may perceive by a copy of the order here inclosed; but coming to the lady, she desired rather to go to live at Hartley, if not with her friends in Yorkshire, and showed me your excellency's protection, which presently I sent my servant withall to the commissioners at Newcastle. They returned this answer,—that they had rather she would live with her friends in Yorkshire, than give occasion of jealousy either by

living in Westmoreland or Cumberland. All which I refer till your excellency's pleasure be further known, and shall ever rest,

Your honour's faithful servant,

THOMAS CHOLMLEY.

From Ednall, this 8th May, 1645.

TO OUR VERY WORTHY FRIEND, COLONEL CHOMELEY.

By the Committees and Commissioners of both Houses of Parliament of England.

WHEREAS we are informed that the wives of sundry of our enemies in Carlisle are remaining at their own houses in Cumberland and Westmoreland, from whence they may give intelligence of all that passeth amongst yourselves, and are ready to stir the ill-humours and to improve all discontents, to the raising up of tumults, and bringing in confusion with the people and inhabitants, their neighbours, round about them:

We think fit, and hereby order, that Colonel Chomeley shall take care to apprehend all such persons as he may have just cause to suspect to be stirrers up of sedition and insurrection; that in particular he would repair to the Lady Musgrave at Eden Hall, and conduct her to Carlisle, where she may remain with her husband, Sir Philip Musgrave, in more security than in her house at Eden Hall, in these tumultuous and troublesome times; and of this service we expect an account as speedily as may be.

WILLIAM ROE,

Secretary to the Commissioners.

Given at Newcastle, April 12th, 1645.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HIS EXCELLENCY, LORD FERDINANDO FAIRFAX, AT YORK, THESE.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I HAVE formerly received your lordship's protection for my remaining at Eden Hall, if I be obedient to ordinance of Parliament, which they cannot tax me, for my accusation is suspicion of intelligence, without desert or proof. Colonel Cholmley hath orders for my removing. I did desire the stay of us till I knew your honour's pleasure. Eden Hall is my jointure, where my humble suit is to remain, being very unfit for travel. But I wholly refer myself to your lordship's pleasure, both for means, and what place I and my children may remain together at, presuming that your honourable favour and worth will consider my poor condition, which shall ever oblige me to be,

Your most obedient servant,

JULIAN MUSGRAVE.

Eden Hall, May 8th.

Sir Philip Musgrave's subsequent history is full of honourable proofs of homage and fidelity. Soon after this time he was made colonel of a regiment of foot, which was raised in Cumberland; and in the same year he was taken prisoner at Rowton Moor, after which he took Carlisle by surprise, and was a second time appointed governor. He served at Worcester, and followed the disastrous fortunes of Charles II. in France, Holland, and Scotland, proceeding from thence to the Isle of Man, which he defended to the last under the

banner of the Stanleys. At the Restoration, he was a third time made Governor of Carlisle, and raised to the peerage as Baron Musgrave, but never took out the patent. Notwithstanding all the vicissitudes through which he passed, and the frequent perils of life and property to which he was exposed, Sir Philip died in his own bed at Eden Hall, at seventy years of age. Curiously enough, the Musgraves and Grahams are united in their living descendants by the intermarriage of the present representative of the former family with the house of Netherby.

In a letter from Mr. Thomas Ibson, the steward of the young Lord Fairfax of Emely, we have a minute account of the deplorable condition to which some of the most flourishing estates in the north were reduced by the ravages of the soldiers (especially the Scotch), and the pressure of assessments. Such was the impoverished state of the tenantry, that they were not only unable to pay up the existing heavy arrears, but were compelled to ask for indefinite indulgence in the discharge of the accruing rent. The question of rent, and the mutual responsibilities of landlord and tenant, seem to have been very imperfectly understood on all hands; nor were the commissioners who had been appointed to arbitrate in such cases, much more enlightened on the matter than the parties who appealed to them. In this instance we find the commissioners ordering not only an abatement of the assessments, but a quittance of a whole year's rent, and a reduction of fifty per cent. till

the times should get better. What power the commissioners possessed to absolve people from contracts and running engagements does not appear; but according to Mr. Ibson's statement, nobody thought of questioning their decision, although it involved the glaring injustice of throwing nearly the whole weight of assessments and depredations upon the proprietor of the land.

The Lord Fairfax, to whom this letter was addressed, had not yet attained his fifteenth year. He was a kinsman of Lord Fairfax of Denton, and belonged to that branch of the family, which in the middle of the thirteenth century had settled at Walton in Yorkshire. His grandfather, Sir Thomas Fairfax of Walton and Gilling, was raised to the Irish peerage, as Viscount Fairfax of Emely, in the county of Tipperary. The title became extinct in 1741.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HIS VERY GOOD LORD, WILLIAM VISCOUNT FAIRFAX, OF EMELY, PRESENT THESE.

My Lord,

It pleased his Excellency the Lord Fairfax, one of the guardians to your estate, and who only taketh care of it, at the request of your lady mother, to authorise me to receive your rents. Upon his lordship's warrant for that purpose, I presently went to your tenants of your several manors, to demand arrears. The answer of them all was one and the same in effect, viz., that the assessments paid to the armies, and free billet, and freebooting, had so impoverished them,

that they were scarce able to pay anything. The tenants of Acaster Malbys, against my coming to them, had prepared a petition, which they told me they would prefer to the Lord General for relief, having sustained above 2000*l.* damage by the Scots, who were quartered there whilst York was beleaguered. This petition they preferred, and annexed to it a certificate under the hands of the sequestrators, appointed by the commissioners and committee for that wapentake, who are men of credit, attesting their damage to amount to so much as is above-mentioned. His Excellency referred the consideration of the petition to Mr. Henry Darley, one of the commissioners for the Parliament in this country, and Sir Robert Barwick, who called me on your honour's behalf, and your tenants of Acaster before them; which your other tenants hearing of, came to York to the two gentlemen and desired that consideration might be had of their losses likewise, and that they might have allowance in their rents past of all the assessments they had paid to the armies, free billet, and other losses sustained by the armies, and that they might have abatement in their rents for the time to come. Upon hearing what could be said on both sides, the gentlemen did order the tenants of Acaster, who had all their corn wasted, and the sheep, kine and swine eaten by the Scots, should have all their assessments abated, the last year's rent wholly forgiven, and that they should pay but half rent for the time to come; and such assessments as they should pay to be abated out of that too, and the other half rent to stand in super.

My lord, this lordship was almost a fourth part of your estate, and, notwithstanding all these abatements, I have not gotten out of it 40*l.*, and I have ridden five times for that. And for all your other tenants, the gentlemen [commissioners]

did order that they should have all assessments abated, and for the time to come have a third part of their rents abated, until the times were better. My lord, this cuts off a great part of your revenue, and yet I fear your tenants are so impoverished, that they will scarce be able to pay what is now set down.

Skalton and Ampleford, Gillinge and Colton, lay so near Helmesley Castle, that during the time it was besieged they were never without soldiers upon free billet, who, besides their other provisions which they eat up, they [the soldiers] killed all their sheep.

Heslerton lies near Scarborough, and suffers there; Walton was plundered at my Lord of Newcastle's first coming, being supposed to be one of his Excellency's towns; and since that the Scots have been thrice there, and pulled down the houses of office about your manor-house; and at their last being there, (which was about six weeks or two months since,) they took all their beans and oats and barley they had left for seed. They left but three sheep about all the town, and when they went away the soldiers at divers houses took away with them the sheets and bedding they had lain in, and kept some of the tenants till the rest ran to other towns to borrow ten pounds to give them for a farewell.

For Rudston there has been nothing gotten, I think, this four years. Mr. Ellis, your tenant, is dead, and it seems was in arms against the Parliament, and his estate is sequestered, as some other two of your tenants are; concerning whom you had need to move, my lord, so that the rents due to you by those tenants may be allowed in the composition for your wardship; these men's estates being taken for the public, otherwise your honour will suffer in two ways.

There is also allowed by order of the Court of Wards 240*l.*

per annum for the maintenance of your younger brothers and sisters, besides your lady mother's own allowance out of the estate. There were lands at Skawton of 70*l.* by the year value, left about two years ago by some tenants there; of these grounds, there was not only no profit made that I can hear of, but I have been forced to pay assessments for them out of the rents I received for other grounds which were let, else the sequestrators had driven. There is much ground at Walton turned into your lordship's hands too, for which I must pay assessments, though it be arable land, and lie untilled, besides meadow of 80*l.* value per annum and above, of which no profit was made. All these things laid together, which my cousin Dobson knows to be true, I hope my Lord Say will commiserate your estate and allow of what is abated the tenants at Acaster, and what the sequestrators have gotten at Rudston, where there is above 300*l.* due, and of any other tenants, in part of your composition, for it is impossible otherwise to raise it.

I humbly crave pardon of your lordship for being thus tedious. I thought it was my duty and necessary to give you this account, both for your own satisfaction how it is with your estate, and to enable you to inform my Lord Say of the truth of it, and the reason why moneys come in so slowly to him. There are also annuities to be paid out of your estate to the value of 200*l.* per annum, and some servants' wages, and besides, 200*l.* will not put your houses into good repair; the leads of Gilling Castle are quite decayed, so that it raineth into the house at above forty places, which rotteth the timber. My lord, all this is but to perform my duty, and show the good affection of a poor kinsman,

And your honour's most humble servant,

THO. IBSON.

Alne, May 11th, 1645.

While Lord Fairfax is regulating affairs as well as he can in the North, we will return to Sir Thomas Fairfax, whom we left modelling, marshalling, and officering his new army at Windsor.

Connected with these proceedings we find the annexed interesting document—a commission appointing the celebrated Algernon Sidney colonel of a regiment of horse. This instrument is dated the 2nd of April, the day before Sir Thomas Fairfax left London for the general rendezvous at Windsor. In the following June, we find Sidney leaving this regiment. No reason is assigned for it. Perhaps it was an impulse of that "over-ruling temper" which is ascribed to him by Whitelocke.

COMMISSION FROM SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX, KNIGHT, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, TO ALGERNON SIDNEY, AS A COLONEL OF A REGIMENT OF HORSE.

Sir Thomas Fairfax, Knight, Commander-in-Chief of all the Forces raised or intended to be maintained by virtue of an Ordinance of Parliament, bearing date the fifteenth day of February, one thousand six hundred forty-four, for the defence of the Kingdom: To Algernon Sidney, Colonel.

By the authority of the aforesaid ordinance, and of one other ordinance, bearing date the first of April, one thousand six hundred forty and five, we hereby constitute and appoint you colonel of a regiment of horse, raised and to be raised for the service aforesaid, which said regiment you shall, by virtue of the commission given you, receive into your charge. These are, therefore, to require you to make your present repair to the said regiment, and taking the

same into your charge as colonel, diligently to exercise your officers and soldiers of the said regiment, commanding all officers and soldiers of the said regiment to obey you as their colonel for the said service, according to this commission given you, and you likewise to obey, observe, and follow such order and direction as you shall from time to time receive from myself and the superior officers of the army, according to the discipline of war. Given under my hand and seal, this second day of April, 1645.

THOMAS FAIRFAX.

Sir Thomas showed excellent discrimination in his choice of officers; nor was he less successful in securing their attachment. From amongst many proofs of their devotion to him, the following may be selected. The gentleman whose signature heads the list of names was, no doubt, the identical Major Smithson, whose menaces gave so much uneasiness to Lady Graham at Norton-Conyers.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX, GENERALISSIMO OF ALL ENGLAND.

The Humble Petition of the Commanders and Officers in Colonel Matthew Alured's Regiment,

HUMBLY SHOWETH:

WHEREAS we are given to understand that your honour is called into the southern parts for the public service of the kingdom, your petitioners humbly crave at your hands, that your honour would accept of the service of this regiment, who are ready to wait upon you, and hazard their lives with you wheresoever you shall be

called, or if we cannot be so much honoured herein, that then you would be pleased to see a course settled, before your departure hence, of a fitting constant pay for ourselves and soldiers, for our future subsistence and livelihood, otherwise your petitioners crave attestations under your hand for our arrears past, and are willing to quit our present commands, and in our persons to venture our lives with you in this your expedition (as formerly we have done), if you please to accept of the service of your petitioners underwritten.

Geo. Smithson.	Thomas Johnson.
Mich. Richardson.	Thomas Talbot.
Henry Nevill.	Francis Bland.
John Wildon.	Cornelies Vandehorst.
Robert Legard.	Robert Newham.

In order to a clear understanding of the opening operations of the army at Windsor, it will be useful to show how some of the principal points of action at both sides were covered. The King was at Oxford; Prince Rupert lay about Worcester and the frontier of Wales, with a tendency in all his incursions towards the North; General Goring kept flying posts in the neighbourhood of Hungerford and Marlborough; Sir Richard Grenville, with a considerable force, was besieging Taunton, now reduced to the last extremity; and another force was encamped before Plymouth. Such was the disposition of the chief divisions of the Royalists. On the other side Lord Fairfax held York and Hull; Sir William Brereton was laying close siege to Chester; Colonels Massey and Hutchinson were in garrison at Gloucester

and Nottingham; and Sir Robert Pye was in possession of Leicester. Upon a general survey of the military occupation of the kingdom, the balance of advantages was largely in favour of the King in the western and midland counties. His Majesty had also a great numerical preponderance. It was under these circumstances that the little army of Windsor, which in its final muster had seriously fallen short of the anticipations of Parliament, unfolded its companies late in April for the desultory campaigns of 1645.

The first outward movement was a sudden expedition under Cromwell, to intercept a convoy of horse which was expected on the road from Worcester to join the King at Oxford. Advancing rapidly into Oxfordshire, Cromwell routed a body of the King's horse at Islop Bridge, and compelled Colonel Windebank to surrender Blechington House. Under the articles of surrender, Windebank obtained safe conduct into Oxford. Safe conduct with a vengeance!—for he had no sooner reached the King's quarters, than he was tried by a council of war for abandoning his post, and shot. At Witney and Brampton-Bush Cromwell dispersed other bodies of the Royalists, and took a great number of prisoners. These signal successes occupied only two or three days.

While Cromwell was engaged in this service, Fairfax marched westward to relieve Taunton. It was the only inland garrison the Parliament possessed in that part of the country, and its preservation was an object of

primary importance. He had already proceeded as far as Andover, when an order came to countermand his further progress in that direction. Intelligence had arrived in London that the two Princes, Rupert and Maurice, were advancing towards Oxford, and it became necessary to consider whether it might not be advisable, instead of succouring Taunton, to fall back and concentrate upon the head-quarters of the King. Fairfax, however, was of opinion that, whatever it might be best to do, the worst was to stand idly on the highway, and so continued his march steadily towards the beleaguered town. Two days determined the question, and being overtaken by positive orders, he dispatched four regiments of foot to Taunton, and returned with the remainder of his troops to join Cromwell, and watch the King's movements. In the meanwhile his Majesty had left Oxford, effected a junction with the Princes, and taken the field with the immediate intention of relieving Chester in person, while he dispatched Goring into the west to harass Fairfax, whom he believed to be still there. Had Goring's superior force fallen in with Fairfax, the issue might have been disastrous for the Parliament; but Fairfax was enabled, by his intimate knowledge of the country, to evade that formidable body, and effect his march securely into Oxfordshire.

The King had long desired to relieve Chester, but had hitherto been unable to accomplish his purpose; nor could Sir William Brereton collect sufficient strength to carry the place, so that he did nothing more than

maintain a motionless siege. The difficulties to which he had been exposed so far back as the preceding February, will appear from the following appeal for help to Sir Thomas Fairfax.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX, THESE.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

THE preparation is great which the enemy makes for the relief of Chester and Beston Castle. Colonel Hastings unites with his own forces Lichfield, Dudley, Ludlow, Lincell Tounge, Shrewsbury, Bridgnorth, with many other places besides, to join with Prince Maurice in this design, with whom we must join in battle, or lose the fruit of all our labour, and long expectations; if in this design the enemy should give us a blow, the influence thereof would extend to all the neighbouring counties, and be very prejudicious to all these parts of the kingdom, which makes us seek abroad for help, being unable of ourselves for so great a task. We understand by your letters to Sir George Booth of your courteous tender of assistance to these parts if need were, which makes us bold to importune your honour for a thousand or two of horse and dragoons, with what possible speed may be, and if it please God to repel the enemy, and give Chester into our hands, which now is in great distress, your forces shall share alike with our own in recompense for their service, and we shall ever acknowledge ourselves,

Your honour's most humble servants,

WILLIAM BRERETON, PH. MAINWARING,
THOMAS STANLEY, GEORGE SIMTOM,
ROGER WILLIAM, THOMAS CROXTON.
H. BROOKE,

The enemy is within three days march, and is resolved to hazard all rather than lose Chester.

Namptwich, February 4th, 1644, [*N. S.* 1645.]

Although the Royalists were thus hovering about Chester in February, it was not until May that they moved to its relief; and upon their approach in overwhelming numbers, Sir William Brereton, not having received the assistance he required, raised the siege and retired into Lancashire.

The loss of Chester was balanced by the recovery of Taunton. The besiegers broke up and withdrew on the appearance of Fairfax's four regiments of foot. The spectacle which presented itself on the entrance of the troops was harrowing, the town being in a state of ruin and destitution, from which it did not recover, as appears from the following document, for several months afterwards.

TO OUR VERY LOVING FRIENDS THE MAYOR AND ALDERMEN OF NORWICH, THESE.

GENTLEMEN,

THE sad condition of many hundred inhabitants of the town of Taunton, whose dwellings are burnt and their estates utterly wasted by the enemy, have moved the Parliament to grant them a collection for their relief, by an ordinance to that effect; which, together with our order for the managing of it, we recommend to your care and furtherance, not doubting but that your charitable affections to so necessary and pious a work will encourage and enable you to see

it executed and distributed according to the instructions, with such faithfulness and dispatch as may prevent the expectation of those poor perishing Christians, and comply with the desires of

Your very loving friends,

NORTHUMBERLAND.	ANTH. NICOLL.
JO. WORTHCOTE.	GEO. SEARLE.
SAML. ROLLE.	ROGER.
JO. HONGE.	GEO. BULLER.
WA. ERLE.	RIDEANT.
JOHN BAMPFYLDE.	JOHN HARRIS.
JOHN BROWNE.	JO. WADDON.*

Star Chamber, September 9th, 1645.

The retirement of Brereton from before Chester was not merely a politic movement to avoid an unequal conflict, but had reference also to a general scheme which Sir Thomas Fairfax now began to form for the purpose of drawing in his troops from isolated positions, with a view to concentrate them for a decisive action; a scheme soon afterwards brilliantly consummated by the victory of Naseby. The germs of this design are indicated in several letters. The following communications from Colonel Hutchinson bear upon this point. We see in these hasty notes, the stir and agitation of detachments moving to a centre at Nottingham under the special orders of the General. Delays still arise from various causes, and Colonel Hutchinson apprehends a mutiny in his own garrison from lack of pay. The issue lies dimly before us; but there is activity enough in the

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

commanders if they can only procure the means of appeasing the clamours of the soldiery.

The writer of these pregnant little letters is the same Colonel Hutchinson whose "Memoirs," written by his widow, constitute one of the most interesting and picturesque pieces of biography in our language. He rendered himself famous through the Civil War by the devotion and integrity with which he served the Parliament, especially in the important post of Governor of Nottingham Castle, from whence the letters are dated. While he held this office, he gave a signal proof of his integrity, by indignantly refusing a sum of 10,000*l.*, the hereditary governorship of the place, and a peerage, which were offered to him by the Earl of Newcastle, as bribes to induce him to betray his trust. By some strange and unaccountable good fortune, notwithstanding his active services against the Stuarts in the field, and in the tribunal which condemned the King, whose death-warrant he signed, he escaped execution and forfeiture at the Restoration. Surviving these dangers, however, he died a prisoner in Sandown Castle.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE NORTHERN FORCES

My Lord,

I have received this letter from Lieutenant-General Cromwell this day. I do not know of what concernment it may be, and therefore I dispatch it with such haste to your

lordship that I have not leisure at this present to give you an account of some passages in this garrison as I ought to do. I hope I shall have leisure shortly, either to wait on your lordship myself, or at least fully to acquaint you how things are here with us. In the meantime, I beseech you be pleased to pardon the haste of

Your most faithful and humble servant,

JOHN HUTCHINSON.

Nottingham, May 23rd, 1645.

Colonel Rossiter is not joined with us, and hath this day sent us word that he hath given your lordship a reason for it, which your lordship is well satisfied in.

Newark do not stir, but lie ready prepared with their dragoons.

COLONEL HUTCHINSON TO LORD FAIRFAX.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I HAVE intelligence at this instant that the enemy at Newark are drawing out this night with all their horse and dragoons, whether to the North or to the King is uncertain, and another messenger tells me they are now drawn out and are marching this way. Derby and Lincoln horse are not yet united with those of this garrison, which are in such ill case to march for want of pay, that they will rather mutiny than obey commands. Colonel Vermuden, I hear, is upon his march northward at Elvaston, in Derbyshire, within nine miles of this garrison. I have given him notice hereof, and have no more to your lordship but that I am,

My lord,

Your lordship's humble servant,

JOHN HUTCHINSON.

I have intelligence even now, by a drummer of mine from Newark, that they are designed for Pontefract.

Nottingham, 24th May, 1645, at one of the clock, afternoon.

There were, as usual, great impediments in the way of recruiting and maintaining the army. The assessments ordered by Parliament were still tardily got in, although the urgency of affairs demanded greater activity than ever. Money was the chief want. It was impossible to procure recruits, or to keep them when procured, without a constant and liberal revenue. Yet, in spite of repeated appeals and menaces, large arrears remained behind; and day after day, as in the following instance, the most stringent measures were enforced upon the local committees.

TO OUR VERY LOVING FRIENDS THE COMMITTEE OF PARLIAMENT WITHIN THE CITY AND COUNTY OF NORWICH THESE.

GENTLEMEN,

BY the many letters and addresses which the House of Commons and the committee of the army have of late made unto you, you have been fully informed what necessity there is that the army under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax, (which, under God, is the principal means to preserve us in safety,) should be recruited and constantly and orderly paid; and to that end, amongst other supplies necessary for that army, and, above all, the House and the committee have been very instant with you, that the monthly assessments charged upon your county might in due time be

collected and paid in to the Treasurers at War. And now that, by God's blessing, (though your recruits of men and draught horses be not as yet complete, but we hope by your endeavours will speedily be done,) this army be in a fit condition to march, and is advanced; and that there are three whole months' assessments due, which the army should be paid; yet we find, notwithstanding all the assurances that we have received by your letters, or from the Parliament's agents employed to you, that the money paid in by your county to the Treasurers at War is inconsiderable, or nothing at all, which we apprehend to be a very great neglect, and of dangerous consequence, and, as the affairs of the army and Commonwealth now stand, cannot be longer endured.

This failure we conceive principally to be in the remiss demeanour of the collectors, either in not collecting, or having collected the money, in detaining the same in their own hands; and therefore we, the Committee of Lords and Commons, appointed by the ordinance of the 28th of March last, taking the same into consideration, have thought fit, for the speedy levying of the three months' assessments now due, and for the preventing of all retardments in this service for the future, to give power to the agents employed by Parliament to call the collectors to account, and where they find any person to have neglected his duty, to bring him in safe custody before you, that you may inflict such punishment as the ordinances direct, — a copy of which order in that behalf we have inclosed sent you.

And that the Commonwealth may receive the fruits and effects of this order, we are to desire you, according as the ordinance doth enjoin, that you the committee would twice every week meet, and that you would countenance and encourage the agent, and hear such complaints as he

shall present unto you, and proceed against the delinquents with effect and speed; and from time to time to cause assessments for more months to be made, as you shall find necessary for this service, which so much concerns the public good, that we are most earnestly to recommend the same to you, that all diligence and care be used herein; whereof not doubting, we rest,

Your very loving friends and servants,

P. WHARTON,	J. EVELYN.
PEMBROKE & SALISBURY.	ROBERT SCAWEN.
W. SAY & SELE.	JOHN VENN.
WM. MASHAM.	JNO. PETTS.
VALENTINE WARTON.	THO. HODGES.*

At the Committee for the Army, the 16th of May, 1645.

The same necessity is again pressed upon the attention of the Norwich committee in a letter from both Houses of Parliament, followed by another and more urgent requisition from Derby House. In the first of these letters the threatened siege of Oxford is announced; in the second, Sir Thomas Fairfax has already arrived, and cut off all communication with the town.

FOR THE COMMITTEE OF THE CITY OF NORWICH.

GENTLEMEN,

THE Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, being very sensible of the miseries that this kingdom doth suffer by the long continuance of this unnatural war, have

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

resolved, as the most effectual means, with the blessing of God, to put an end thereunto, that Oxford shall be presently besieged; having found by experience for these three years last past, that the advantage of that place, situate in the heart of the kingdom, hath enabled the enemy to have ill influences upon this City and the counties adjoining, and to infest all other parts. This design, though most necessary, and of great advantage, cannot be prosecuted without supplies of men and money.

We are therefore, by the command of both Houses, earnestly to desire you to hasten the collection and sending up of the money due upon the ordinance for maintaining the forces under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax; and the recruits (the want whereof is a great disservice to the public). These things have lately been represented to you by the Committee of Lords and Commons for the army, it being of great importance, and of present use for the siege designed. We are by both Houses directed again to press the same, not doubting but the benefits which, by God's blessing, this whole kingdom will receive hereby, will quicken all men's endeavours to further this great work; and so we rest,

Your very affectionate friends,

GREY OF WARKE,
Speaker of the House of Peers.

WM. LENTHALL,
*Speaker of the House of Commons.**

Westminster, 19th May, 1645.

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

FOR THE COMMITTEE OF THE CITY OF NORWICH.

GENTLEMEN,

SINCE the writing of these letters of the Houses, herewith sent, Sir Thomas Fairfax is come up to Oxford, and doth straiten that place so that they cannot take in any further provision. We therefore most earnestly recommend it unto you, with all possible expedition to hasten up the monies and recruits according to the letter from the Houses, which may be in this case an extraordinary service.

Signed in the name and by the warrant of the Committee of both Kingdoms.

Your very loving friends,

P. WHARTON.

LONDON.*

Darby House, May 21st, 1645.

Fairfax pitched his head-quarters at Marston, his forces being cast upon spots which completely commanded the town. But the whole proceeding was undertaken against his judgment. He felt that he was wasting his strength behind a breast-work, while the King was abroad in the field, and that, instead of reconnoitring the walls of Oxford, he ought to have been collecting his army for a general action. It was the obvious business of the New-Model Army (which had supplanted the procrastinating system) to follow the King wherever he went, and force the war to a conclusion. But nothing had yet been done in that

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

way, and his Majesty had already fully availed himself of the opportunities to which he was invited by the dispersion of the Parliament troops, and amongst other triumphs, had taken Leicester by storm. These feelings and opinions, and the welcome intelligence that the Parliament had at length consented to release him from an "unprofitable" siege, are emphatically expressed in a short note to his father.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, LORD-GENERAL OF THE NORTH.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I AM very sorry we should spend our time unprofitably before a town, whilst the King hath time to strengthen himself, and by terror to force obedience of all places where he comes; the Parliament is sensible of this now, therefore hath sent me directions to raise the siege and march to Buckingham, where, I believe, I shall have orders to advance northwards, in such a course as all our divided parties may join. It is the earnest desire of this army to follow the King, but the endeavours of others to prevent it hath so much prevailed; but I trust God will preserve it to do the public service: to-morrow I begin my march (God willing). If your lordship strengthen York and Hull, I trust they shall not have time to besiege any places; so beseeching God to keep your lordship in health, and those parts in safety, desiring your blessing, I rest,

Your lordship's most obedient son,

THOMAS FAIRFAX.

Marston, 4th June, 1645.

It was now evident that a crisis was at hand. Fairfax was marching to the defence of the Associated Counties, and letters were hourly dispatched over the country to hasten the concentration of the troops. Colonel Vermuden was hanging on the King's rear; but the direction his Majesty intended to take was yet uncertain. We have a glance at the flying rumours in a letter from Mr. Gervase Lomax to Lord Fairfax. Mr. Lomax was a Nottingham man, belonging to the middle classes, of good understanding, a plain, blunt, honest Parliamentarian.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, THESE.

My Lord,

Colonel Vermuden wrote himself yesterday to be at Stamford, in Lincolnshire, attending the King's motion, which, if southwards, then he is to unite with Sir Thomas Fairfax, who quartered on Wednesday night at Brackley. If the King come northward, Colonel Vermuden is to unite with Colonel Rositer, and both with the forces under the command of Sir John Gell. But it is yet uncertain whether the King be for north or south, he being yesterday not past Harbrowe, and at least at a stand, if not retreating back this way, which is presumed to be upon the noise of Sir Thomas Fairfax's advance. Your lordship may please to impart this intelligence in your next to the Earl of Leven. No more at this time, but that I am

Your humble servant in the Lord Christ,

Gervase Lomax.

Welbeck, June 6th, at Six at Night. [1645.]

Early on the morning of the same day on which Lomax dispatched this letter, Colonel Vermuden had written to Sir Thomas Fairfax, apprising him that he was on his way to join him at Brackley, and that intelligence had reached him of the King's march towards Nottingham. "The Lord send us a speedy conjunction," wrote Vermuden, "and a good engagement, with blessed success." This brief sentence expressed the universal desire. The whole army, wearied of fruitless skirmishing and wasteful sieges, panted for a "speedy conjunction," and "good engagement."

And all this time, by orders from Parliament, prayers are putting up in the churches for a blessing on its efforts! Vermuden, one of the truest and bravest of Fairfax's officers, was unable to participate in the glory to which he had looked forward so eagerly, being compelled, within a week from the date of his letter, to resign his commission, and go abroad upon urgent private business: probably to Holland, the native country of Vermuden the engineer, who drained the fens, and who is supposed to have been his father.

It was at this moment, when he was collecting to a centre the flower and strength of his army, that Fairfax solicited Parliament to dispense with Cromwell's attendance at Westminster. He had better use for him in the field; and, immediately upon obtaining the requisite permission, he appointed him Lieutenant-General of the cavalry. Fairfax was quartered at Wotton, within two miles of Northampton, and the King

lay at Daventry. Cromwell was ordered to bring up his horse without delay, and breathless dispatches were sent off to Coventry, Warwick, Northampton, and every place within reach, desiring the garrisons to "come up" with all the strength they could muster. Major-General Skipton, second in command, was directed to draw a plan of battle; and the impetuous masses, from distant points, pouring in with portentous fury, were rapidly drafted off into brigades of horse and foot, and assigned their several positions.

While Fairfax was making these systematic arrangements, his Majesty, always a little too confident of the divinity which hedged him, was amusing himself hunting! And it was not until Fairfax had hemmed him round, and scared the van of his army, at Harborough, that his Majesty, called up out of his sleep, summoned a council of war, to consider what was best to be done. It was eleven o'clock at night, and seeing that Ireton was hanging upon their flank, within two miles of Naseby, and that Fairfax had shut up the road at Gilling, it was concluded that retreat was impossible, and that nothing remained but to give battle,—of the result of which, in their pride of superior horse and experienced commanders, they appear to have entertained no doubt. Flushed with recent fluctuating successes, his Majesty believed that it was as easy to hunt down Fairfax's army as to chase deer and rabbits; and accordingly, taking up his ground on some undulating heights opposite to the little hamlet of Naseby, he drew

out his force in full pomp, to receive the enemy. His Majesty himself commanded in person in the centre, with the two Princes and Sir Marmaduke Langdale on the right and left, and strong reserves of horse and life-guards behind. Fairfax cast his lines on the low moor-land hills close to the hamlet, sustained at the extremities by Ireton and Cromwell, with his artillery train, enclosed in a ring of firelocks in the rear. The picture of the array of both armies, which has been handed over to us, discloses a ghastly solemnity of preparation, ominous, on both sides, of a frightful carnage. A wide sweep of irregular plain lies between the contending phalanxes, and here, upon this open, naked space, Charles stakes his last chance for the throne.

The battle-cry on the side of the King is "Queen Mary!" and on that of the Parliament "God our strength!" The right wing at each side opens the onslaught, Prince Rupert charging up the heights of Naseby, and Cromwell plunging down into the broad plain with such fierce resolution, that he falls upon Langdale's horse at the sword's point, throws them into a panic, and pursues them over hedge-rows, ditches, and roads, a quarter of a mile beyond the field. Prince Rupert at the same moment is scattering Ireton's left wing, whose movements are embarrassed by dykes and pits of water, while Ireton has his horse shot under him, is wounded in the thigh with a pike and in the face with a halbert, and in the rush of the *melée* taken prisoner; soon afterwards, however, finding means, through

the general confusion, to regain his liberty. Prince Rupert having broken through Ireton's cavalry, and forced them to retreat towards Naseby, on his return reaches the artillery train (where Rushworth is standing taking notes), and, being mistaken by his dress for General Fairfax, an officer advances, hat in hand, to ask how the day goes. The mistake is soon discovered. Rupert offers them quarter, to which they reply by a volley of bullets. There is no time to argue the matter with these obstinate firelocks, and, seeing that the main body, under the command of the King, is in imminent peril, Rupert flies back with his victorious horse to succour his Majesty. It is too late. The fate of the day is already decided. Fairfax's troops, beaten back at first, are rallied by his officers—old General Skipton, who is shot in the side, still staggering on his saddle, and refusing to stir from the ground while there is a man left—and others, clutching their colours, and bringing up the reserves to supply the void of the broken centre. The whole of that gallant body of cavaliers, which, only three hours ago, presented so bold a front, is now shattered and dispersed. Fairfax, recovering his position, has formed his line again, with his wings of cavalry and his foot marshalled between them, to make a last descent upon the King, who, to do him justice, is endeavouring, with desperate courage, to bring up his troops for one charge more. But no human influence can induce them to turn back, and they break away from the field in disorder, Langdale's horse taking the road to Newark,

and the King flying towards Leicester, pursued by Cromwell's cavalry for a distance of twelve or fourteen miles.

In this memorable battle, fought on the 14th of June, Fairfax took nearly 5000 prisoners, including 4000 private soldiers, the whole train of artillery, a quantity of rich pillage, which the cavaliers had possessed themselves of at Leicester, several coaches, and his Majesty's private cabinet, containing letters and papers which furnished crushing evidence of kingly treachery and duplicity.

The Royal fugitive made good his retreat to Leicester, where he had a garrison which was doomed to be driven out after him within the space of three days. His evil fortune had filled him with terrors, and afraid to stay in Leicester, even for rest and refreshment, he fled the same evening to Ashby-de-la-Zouch, where he snatched a hasty supper, and was on the road again at midnight, on his way to Wales, to beat up for recruits. The reverse was prophetic, from the chivalry of Naseby to the donjon of Ragland Castle.

The prisoners taken at Naseby were that night, for want of accommodation, cooped up in Harborough church; and the next day Fairfax advanced upon Leicester, which surrendered on the 17th June. He now resolved to move to the relief of Taunton, which was besieged by Goring; but Goring, having notice of his approach, broke up the siege and turned back to oppose him. Both armies met upon the river at Langport.

Goring had the advantage of the passes, but was dislodged, and beaten with great loss, after a fierce engagement. It will be seen from the following letter, that Goring acted against orders in risking this battle, his Majesty having commanded him not to engage until his forces should be strengthened by new levies out of Wales, and by a further reinforcement from the western garrisons.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY HONOURED FATHER, THE LORD FAIRFAX, IN QUEEN STREET, LONDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

To pardon my seldom writing. I have taken this occasion to let your lordship know God's great goodness to us in defeating Gen. Goring's army; 2000 prisoners are taken, two pieces of ordnance, many arms and colours, both of horse and foot, but not many slain.* His horse that got off, is gone towards Cornwall, and some foot to Bristow. It pleased God to give them this blow in good season. The King had given Goring strict commands not to engage before himself, with the Welsh forces, were joined with him, and Greenwill with those out of the West, which, altogether, would have made a very great army, besides many thousands of club-men in Wiltshire and Dorsetshire, which was ready to declare themselves for the King, as soon as he had crossed the Severn; so as we cannot esteem this mercy less, all things considered, than that of Naseby fight. I have writ

* The journals of the day estimate the killed at 200; Rushworth at 300.

to both Houses, but not so fully as the bearer of these letters, Col. Ransbrough, or Major Harrison, can inform them. I wish my wife, and the house she is in, could be any ways serviceable to your lordship. So, humbly desiring your lordship's blessing, I remain,

Your lordship's most obedient son,

THO. FAIRFAX.

Chedsey, 11 *July, within two miles of Bridgewater*, 1645.

At the close of the war (anticipating the result, that we may dismiss this rash gentleman from our pages), we find Goring falling under the displeasure of the Prince, who, remembering this fatal business at Langport, was not slow, probably, to find out reasons for dismissing him from his favour. The Sir Constantine Huygens, to whom Goring sends his whining complaints, was a Dutchman, Lord of Zuylichan, and had served three successive Princes of Orange, in the quality of secretary. He came to England in 1622, as secretary to the Dutch embassy, and was father of Huygens, the famous astronomer and mathematician.

FOR MY MUCH HONOURED FRIEND, SIR CONSTANTINE HUGGENS, AT THE ARMY.

SIR,

THIS war is ended with more loss to me than any other body, for I hear the Prince is displeased with me for the coming away of those officers that did it without my knowledge, and I have now my lameness so much renewed,

that I cannot come to clear myself; as soon as the bath has restored me to my strength, I shall employ it in his Highness' service, if he please to let me return into the same place of his favour that I thought myself happy in before, being not at all guilty of deserving any declination in his Highness's good opinion no more than I was worthy of coming into it; and I set too great a value upon his favour and myself to quit any pretensions to it, when I keep the same affections to his service that I always had: and sir, you will do me a particular favour to let me know what my posture is there, and to be assured that howsoever his Highness disposes of me, I am,

Sir, your most affectionate,
and most humble servant,
GEORGE GORING.*

Berwick, June 22.

The "Club-men" (or Club-risers, as they were sometimes called), alluded to in Fairfax's last letter, was the title of a new party recently conjured into existence, and which, about this time, had set up an audacious and formidable front. The ostensible object was the protection of life and property, irrespective of King or Parliament —a springe which entrapped hundreds of honest, foolish people, who were terribly harassed by the trampling of dragoons over their fields, and who sincerely believed that it was true patriotism to harass the dragoons in return. In reality this confederation was a Royalist conspiracy, managed by bold and subtle leaders, who

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

laid their plans so successfully that they were able to collect at different points masses of two or three thousand armed men to waylay the supplies of the Parliamentarians, and prevent the levy of contributions. Fairfax encountered a cluster of these club-men on his march into the west; and Cromwell fell in with large bodies of them on two occasions, and was at last compelled to take summary means for bringing them to their senses. But the club-men, and all other combinations, under whatever pretext they came into the world, went out of it with impressive suddenness. Some of their leaders were taken, and sent to London, and the roving cohorts, frightened at their own valorous folly, broke up and vanished.

From Langport, Fairfax had removed, as we have seen, to Chedsey, close to Bridgewater, which was strongly fortified by the Royalists, and which occupied a position that rendered it nearly impregnable. On the night of 11th July, Fairfax and Cromwell went out to examine the fortifications; and on the 16th (the date of the following letter), the proposition to storm the place, or to abandon it, was debated at a council of war. As soon as the council broke up, Sir Thomas Fairfax communicated the result of their deliberations to his father.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY HONOURED FATHER, THE LORD FAIRFAX.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

SINCE the last fight we have only settled our quarters about Bridgewater, as necessary before we enter into action again, to give some rest to the soldiers, who have extreme hard duties in marches and service. This town is of greater consequence, as we conceive, than any in the western parts; for if we have it, we shall garrison in a line which will reach from Severn's mouth to the South Sea, and so divide Devonshire and Cornwall, where their chief force is driven. We intend presently, God willing, either to storm or block it up, that the rest of the army may be at liberty to go after Goring, or where there is most need. I hope we shall carry this place if we storm it. All things are preparing for it. Our greatest want in the army is match, which I desire there may be a care taken a good quantity may be sent to Lyme. I shall trouble your lordship with no more, but humbly desire your blessing, and remain,

Your lordship's most obedient son,

THO. FAIRFAX.

Chedsey, 16 *July*, 1645.

On the 22nd the town was stormed, and on the following day it surrendered.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, LONDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

YESTERDAY I gave an account to both Houses of our taking Bridgewater, part of it by storm; and finding their obstinacy I was forced to fire two or three houses, which presently made them to render the town and themselves to mercy. The governor told me, some of his own men set fire on several parts of the town, for which he had committed some to prison, else we had done little hurt by fire. Now we shall, God willing, in a day or two, undertake some other business, either towards Bath and Bristow, or towards Goring in Cornwall; the latter seems fittest to be undertaken. Forces from France and Ireland may readily join with him there. I hope we shall leave force enough for the west, and have a considerable army for any other service. We have had great testimony of God's goodness to us, and I trust He will still assist us in this work, that we may finish it or our lives to His glory and the good of this kingdom, for which I desire your lordship's blessing. So remain

Your lordship's most obedient son,

THOMAS FAIRFAX.

Near Bridgewater, July 24th, 1645.

The King is expected this night in Bristow if the news of taking Bridgewater stay him not. His greatest hopes now seems to be in the clubmen, and God's providence is much seen in the timely taking of this town. If the King had had time to have got his forces and these numerous clubmen together, we must have left it.

We are interrupted in the midst of these anxious

scenes by a letter from Mr. Charles Fairfax to his brother, concerning certain investigations into divers complicated questions of taxation in Yorkshire, upon which that worthy lawyer and antiquary had been for some time engaged. Deeply as he was absorbed in the "study" at Denton, he found leisure for such scanty intelligence as he could get, from week to week, of the progress of the army. The matter of this letter is of no present import. The old divisions and interests to which it refers are obliterated; but it shows that there was hard work to be done in dusky offices and civic chambers, as well as in camps and castles, to sustain the heart of the great cause. It is apparently a dry discussion about rights of levy; but these assessments were the life-blood of the army.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, AT HIS LODGINGS IN QUEEN STREET, THESE.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

YOU may please to take information that the rates of the three Ridings are now vehemently controverted, and both North and East oppose the West; the City (who are no less violent against us), these will not admit part of our twelve, but a distinct twentieth part of the whole. They insist upon the seidance of their proportions in the two late ordinances, one for the Irish, the other the Scottish assessments; the act for poll-money; the irregular charge of ship-money; the postscript of an old letter to the mayor, &c., from my Lord of Huntingdon, 1595 (point blank against

them, being in pursuance of our claims), and the City's answer, that Pierce Stanley, as muster-master of the county, ought not to view their arms, being a distinct county. Purveyance they admit; but it is not against them, being an act of prerogative. Each objection has his answer. But most of that I heard at this board I had formerly learned from your lordship by frequent discourses, besides the view of seidall notes, both my father's and yours, concerning arms and purveyance. As a twentieth part, it is but as Strafford and Tickhill, from whose high constables they have received their charge; that (because it is a distinct county) the statutes enable them to claim their privileges for arms and bridges; yet for arms (besides the Lord President Huntingdon's letter, who says we claim them) there is shown a note of Sir Henry Savile's, taken 1625, wherein the City forces are reckoned with the West.

A poor thing to what I have seen in your study, but especially in my father's desks, in several bundles of far ancienter date. In Henry the Sixth's time they were made a county, and (though now no part of us) are concomitant with us to their former proportions, which such charters can neither diminish nor alter more than the late separation of Clifton, Tulford, Rouchliff, &c., taken both from the North and East Ridings, where (by joint assent of the justices and gentry) it was ordered they should pay assessments (as before) with those Ridings. A like may be intended upon their first charter.

For the charge of shipping, each particular sheriff had his writ; and if our proportion have exceeded, it (being irregular) can be no authentic precedent. That of Camden they would urge against us. He (speaking of York) having formerly mentioned the three Ridings, says, "Que nec illius nec

cujusque alterius partis censetur, sed suis guadet immunitatibus." By one casting voice (there being twelve of both Ridings and thirteen of ours, with their Mr. Chalanour siding in that point with us) the month of August is voted to be assessed as it usually has been, and a new day assigned to determine the controversy, or at least for the present, until the Parliament decide it, there being the interests of many thousand pounds in lands above the value of 200,000*l.* per annum concerned.

I purpose to go or send to my cousin Malory, and all others who may contribute any assistance to the work, to vindicate those rights which lie now a-gasping. They being confident to carry it, it will be discussed in Parliament; and your lordship's memory (though you have often complained of it) is a faithful repertory, and ever was, in all things that concerned the good of the country. In the mean time your letter hither may be very useful. Some things I bundled in your chest, of impertinences concerning musters, which I hope I may get to, for it was not in your study. They may be of as good consequence as Sir Henry Savile's note.

My lord, I am much comforted in the weekly relations, wherein I read God's mercies in legible characters both of you and your son. The giving all unto God (of which he has an honourable testimony) is the most thriving way. I have many engagements to remember your lordship; and I know you cannot forget

Your most affectionate servant,

C. F.

1*st August*, 1645.

Mr. Stockdale has now shown me your lordship's letter concerning this business, and I hope will join with the carriage of the business.

Sir Thomas Fairfax, following up his successes at Langport and Bridgewater, directed his course westward against Bristol, where Prince Rupert was in command of a powerful garrison. On his way he stormed Bath, which, after a brisk surprise at the gates, surrendered on his own terms. In his next letter we follow him to Sherborne.

FROM SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX TO HIS FATHER, LORD FAIRFAX.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

SINCE the taking of Bath, (I have left there two regiments of horse and two of foot, which, with the assistance of the county with the well-affected there about, I hope will straighten Bristow very much), I am come to Sherborne. The necessity of staying in these parts till we receive our recruits and ammunition made me willing to attempt something on it, which I hope in a very short time will be to very good purpose, if it please God we take this place. It is more considerable than to force Goring into Cornwall, for the clubmen of Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and Hampshire, are like to be of dangerous consequence, if not prevented. We have taken thirteen or fourteen of their chief leaders. Lieutenant-General Cromwell is gone out with some horse to hinder the clubmen's meeting, which I hear they have appointed, to come and demand their leaders. We must not neglect this business, for their violence is probable to lead them to some foolish attempt, which I hope may make them repent their errors, if they will not be advised; which way, I desired him just to make use of. I am sorry money is so slowly sent to the army; indeed our soldiers have been

put to hard service and strict obedience; but if they want pay, both these will be neglected, and nothing carries on our business with more advantage than keeping our soldiers from doing violences, which I do desire we may still be able to do. I shall trouble your lordship with no more at this time, but humbly desiring your blessing, remain

Your lordship's most obedient son,

THO. FAIRFAX.

Sherborne, August 4th, 1645.

Since the writing of this letter, I received yours of the 24th July. I perceive the Parliament hath been pleased to name me Governor of Pontefract. I am so little serviceable to those parts, as I cannot desire more commands there. Either of those your lordship names are fit to command the castle; but if your lordship think it convenient to have that government, I am content; and desire that either Colonel Overton or Major Crooke may command under me there. I now received this inclosed from Lieutenant-General Cromwell: I desire your lordship would acquaint the House with it, and that they would let me know what they would have me do with the ring-leaders of them.

The "inclosed" from Cromwell contained an account of the dispersion of the Clubmen, who were totally routed by Cromwell, and glad to escape, on condition of never showing their heads again. "Many of them," said Cromwell, in his letter to Fairfax, "are poor silly creatures, whom, if you please to let me send home, they promise to be very dutiful for time to come, and will be hanged before they come out again."

The ammunition and money, so much needed by

Fairfax, arrived on the 11th August. The spirits of the army rose at the good news. They had been upwards of a week before Sherborne waiting for cannon, but not failing to make a show of strength at intervals by sending trumpets to the gates, whose summonses were answered by flat negatives, and occasional shots out of loopholes. It was by some of these shots the officers mentioned in the following letter were wounded. Captain Horsey, and another officer, Captain Fleming, died of their hurts, and were buried with military honours in the church—a solemn pause in the fury of the siege!

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, IN QUEEN STREET, LONDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

WE find nothing more difficult than sieges, where things are not provided for that work. Necessity and reason now puts us upon that way; for no army, God be thanked, now for the present is like to keep the field against us. We shall neglect half our work if we leave Sherborne untaken; but in a few days we hope, by God's assistance, to force it. We have already lost some of our stoutest and best officers before it, as Major Done, Captain Horsey, and others hurt. We are making mines, which I hope in a few days will be finished.

I received this day your lordship's letters by Captain Hoyle. I shall do what I can for him; but when places fall in this army they are presently challenged either by antiquity or merit, as it is hard to place any stranger in it. I shall desire

Colonel Overton or Major Crooke to command Pontefract under me, if you think fit; or if you desire, it may be absolutely under the command of one of them. I desire to know your lordship's pleasure, and I shall be very well content. So, humbly desiring your lordship's blessing, I remain,

Your lordship's most obedient son,

THOMAS FAIRFAX.

On the 12th the miners were at work under a hurricane of burning faggots. On the 13th the cannon was planted, and the miners, cutting through the naked rock, were within two yards of the walls. On the 14th the guns began to play, beating down a tower, and making a breach wide enough for ten men to enter abreast. A poor drummer, who was sent in this strait to summon the garrison to surrender, was told that he deserved to be hanged, and that the Governor was a man who would rather lose his life than his honour; and on the 15th the said brave, boisterous Governor surrendered. On the 16th the soldiers made high market of their booty with the country people.

Before the end of a week (having reduced Nunney Castle on his way) Fairfax sat down before Bristol. His name had become a word of fear amongst the Royalists. Fortifications seemed to melt before him wherever he appeared, and belligerent Bristol was struck with terror at his approach. So soon as he was known to be in the neighbourhood, several lords and people of rank begged for passes to come out of the

city, declaring that they were ready to leave the country, and get out of the way altogether. Fairfax refused their request, "it being a received opinion," says quaint old Rushworth, "that persons of quality and great estate, in a besieged town, rather incline to a timely yielding than hazardous defending thereof, when no relief is at hand." And so, with the gates locked upon these helpless persons of quality and great estate, Fairfax prepares to batter down the walls. The next letter, without a date, appears to have been written on the 22nd or 23rd August.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

UPON serious debate on the consequence of affairs, we marched to Bristol with the army, else the good success God hath given us in Somersetshire might have been to little purpose; for Prince Rupert, with 3000 horse and foot which he had, might have raised force in all the county behind us, which would have been more considerable than Goring's army is, which breaks daily with distractions, and so less dangerous. We have shut Prince Rupert, with all his horse, up in Bristol; the plague is much there. I hope God will direct all things for the best, that we may give some good account of that which is so much expected. So, desiring your blessing, I remain,

Your lordship's most obedient son,

THOMAS FAIRFAX.

This inclosed letter from my Lord Falkenbridge was intercepted coming from France, with other letters, which is sent to the committee of both kingdoms. It appears by them little assistance can be expected from thence.

Having secured all the surrounding posts, and borne much distress for several days from sudden sallies of the besieged, it was determined, after much deliberation, to storm the city. This resolution was carried into effect on the 10th September. Nearly all the forts and bulwarks gave way, after a resistance hardly less heroic than the devotion of the storming parties; and Rupert, seeing that all was lost, fired the town in three places, and sent a trumpet amidst the flames to propose a treaty of surrender, which was accepted. The treaty was concluded on the 11th; and on the next day, while Fairfax was writing to his father, Prince Rupert was riding out under a convoy of horse to Oxford.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

BY the good providence of God we are now possessed of Bristol, which was rendered, September 11th, upon these inclosed conditions, after a fierce and resolute storm: the particulars will be expressed in the Speaker's letters. I have left only a regiment of foot in the fort and castle, for the sickness is much in the town; the army removes this day to Cavesham and Penford; we must needs lay them in quarters free from sickness, till the monies come up from Riding, and

this place be settled. Somersetshire is raising 2000 men to recruit the army, part of which we are to receive to-morrow. I hope to have 1500 more out of Glostershire. The enemy seems much dejected since the taking of this town, and I think the Prince would be glad of a pass to go into France. I believe I shall hear from him shortly to that purpose, if he would not have it so public as to desire it of the Parliament, but rather from me. I humbly desire some advice in it, but I think it would be happy for the kingdom if he would go out of it. Rushworth will acquaint your lordship more particularly of things. So, desiring your lordship's blessing, I remain,

Your lordship's most obedient son,

T. FAIRFAX.

Bristol, 12th September, 1645.

Devizes Castle, Berkeley Castle, Winchester, and Basing House, were now rapidly reduced in succession; the King's troops were beaten on Rowton Heath, and soon after at Sherborne; and Fairfax, making forced marches westward, took up his head-quarters at Chard, on the 8th of October. Up to this time no money had been received by the army since the remittance of the 11th of September, and wherever they came they were obliged to take up free quarters.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, IN QUEEN STREET.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

WE are now at Chard, upon the confines of Devonshire, and shall be forced to stay there till our monies and

recruits come to us; Goring is about 6000 horse and foot, being the more considerable, having the advantage of rivers and other strong passes to maintain against us; yet we perceive much fearfulness in them to engage with us, and many soldiers, and some officers daily run from them to us. They will not have any assistance from Cornwall, and I hope Devonshire will be our friend when we come in to them, that they dare declare it. I am exceedingly troubled with rheumatism and a benumbing coldness in my head, legs, and arms, especially on that side I had my hurts. It hath pleased the Lord to help me through much extremities, and I trust He will lay no more on me than He will enable me to bear; the mercies I have received ought to stop all complaints in His service.

My wife is gone to Sir John Paulett's, and intends to stay there till my lady be able to go up to London with her. As there is occasion I shall give your lordship further account, and now desiring your blessing, remain,

Your lordship's most obedient son,

T. Fairfax.

Chard, 8th October, 1645.

The action at Sherborne was the most important of all the flying encounters which occurred at this time. It happened thus:—the King, being at Welbeck on the 12th of October, and desirous of assisting Montrose, then actively engaged on the Scottish border, and complaining grievously of want of cavalry, appointed 1200 horse for that service, which he confided to the command of Lord Digby, assisted by Sir Marmaduke Langdale. George Digby laboured under the misfortune of being

one of the handsomest men of his day. His vanity was in proportion to the grace and beauty of his person. It was the dye which lay at the root of his character, and infused its colour into all the transactions of his life. One who knew him intimately tells us that he thought the most difficult things easy, and that he never troubled himself to calculate consequences, as if he had the power by mere volition to overrule them. His whole career, up to the moment when he got this unlucky command of horse, exhibited a succession of hot-brained impulses, in which his self-confidence predominated over all other men's judgments, and even over the most palpable suggestions of prudence. Like all men who, for the glory of standing alone, prefer their own opinions, even in the wrong, to the wisdom of combined counsel, he cultivated singularity to the total wreck of his fortunes. The results of this eccentricity of temper, dangerous to his associates and fatal to himself, were conspicuous in the caprice, inconstancy, and failure of everything he undertook. However far he might advance with a party, he was sure to strike off somewhere on some crotchet or humour of his own. He began with the Parliament, and ended with the King, and boasted that he was hated equally by Papists and Puritans, which he took to be a mark of distinction, and a proof of independence. However enthusiastically he might respond to the affections of his friends, he was sure to differ from them at some time, and lose them at last. His truest and best friend, through all reverses,

was the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, whom, in the long run, he impeached of high treason. Possessed of great natural talents, his mind was so elevated by conceit, and so incapable of discipline or application, that he never could employ them in any direction with success. He dabbled in literature out of a spirit of elegant ostentation, and left nothing behind him worth remembering. The only things in this way by which he is known are a translation of three books of the Cassandra, and a couple of comedies, (played at Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1665), which he constructed out of the Spanish, and afterwards condensed into one, and published under the name of "Elvira." The complexional intrigue of this piece, which shows clearly from whence it came, survives in "The Wonder" of Mrs. Centlivre.

Impetuous Digby, at the head of his 1200 horse, marched off to Doncaster, where he valiantly seized a few stray Parliament soldiers, who had sought shelter in the place, and were incapable of offering any resistance; and pursuing his victory to Sherborne, surprised Colonel Wren, and took about a thousand prisoners. Exulting in this exploit, he gathered up the arms of the vanquished in a heap in the street; but while he was waiting for carriages to convey them away, Colonel Copley appeared before the town. Digby drew out his forces and gave battle. The contest was short and decisive. Digby was soundly beaten and put to flight, and lost not only all the prisoners and arms he had taken, but three hundred men of his own, and his

private coach, containing bundles of letters full of royal secrets. The papers seized upon this occasion, and at Naseby, were published by the orders of Parliament, and disclosed to the country a scheme which the King was carrying on to marry his son to the Prince of Orange's daughter, with a view to secure the aid of Holland, and sundry negotiations in which he was engaged for bringing over foreign armies and subsidies. But it was evident, from one of these letters, that his Majesty, in the midst of all his plans and alliances, was reduced to despair. "I confess," he observes in a communication to Prince Rupert, "that, speaking as a mere soldier, or statesman, I must say there is no probability but of my ruin." The battle of Naseby had broken down his last hope.

The following list of prisoners taken at Sherborne, is from a memorandum in the hand-writing of Sir Thomas Fairfax.

PRISONERS TAKEN AT THE LATE BATTLE AT SHERBORNE, ON WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 15TH, ABOUT FOUR OF THE CLOCK IN THE AFTERNOON, 1645.

COLONEL SIR FRANCIS ANDERSON, Coloner Bulmer, Colonel Clayton, Colonel Carnaby, Lieutenant-Colonel Wentworth, Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon, Major Crathorne, Captain Leuson, Master of the Ordnance; Captain Cholmeley, Captain Marshall, Captain Pudsey, wounded and taken; four more captains taken; Captain L. Slayton, Lieutenant John

Turner; divers other officers and reformadoes; Mr. Duke Punstable, a great papist; Mr. Claverin, Richard Lowther, gentleman; Colonel Sir Francis Carnaby, slain; Colonel Sir Richard Hutton, slain; Mr. Slingsby; several wounded; betwixt 300 or 400 taken prisoners, and about 600 horse, forty slain, many wounded; the Countess of Nidsdale taken; Colonel Clausin, Colonel Carnaby, their colours taken and divers others; the Lord Digby's coach taken, and the King's surgeon taken in it with rich pillage. We lost not ten men, but many wounded. The enemy were about 1600 horse, and intended for Montrose. Ours were about the number of 1250. About 600 of the enemy are gotten towards Skipton.

Handsome Digby, who may be supposed to have had his beauty a little spoiled in this affair, fled precipitately northwards, turning this way and that, to avoid the Parliamentarians, and after crossing fords, hiding in woods, and fighting for his life, got away at last more dead than alive to the Isle of Man, from whence he finally escaped into Ireland. The remainder of his wandering life was crowded with romantic adventures, such as were common to soldiers of fortune in the middle ages. From Ireland he fled to Jersey, and thence into France; served in the French army in Italy, attended Charles II. at Bruges, and was found at the Restoration in the Spanish ranks under the command of Don John of Austria. His true friend, Clarendon, had in vain endeavoured to dissuade him against accepting mercenary service under a foreign power, telling him frankly at the same time that there

were certain errors of his life and nature, which he ought to avail himself of exile and solitude to correct. "You can no more," said Lord Clarendon in a letter remarkable for good sense and integrity of purpose, "be a servant or pensioner to another crown, than you can marry another wife. Borrow or beg (it is very honest) so much as will keep you alive and cleanly for one year; and withdraw into a quiet corner, where you are not known, and where not above two or three friends may hear of you. If you can live but one year without being spoken of at all, without being in a capacity of having your own or other men's errors imputed to you, you will find a strange resurrection of a good fame. In that retirement you will revolve the rare accidents and misfortunes of your life; in the consideration whereof, I fear, you have been too negligent; and, it may be, you may believe you have encountered new and unusual dangers, because you have not duly weighed past and unusual deliverances. You will find as much of the immediate hand of God in both, as can be observed in the course of a man's life, much inferior to you in age, and, it may be, in action. And after you have given your mind this diet, exercise and repose, you will return with greater vigour upon the stage; and any shift you shall then be necessitated to, will be more justifiable to the world and comfortable to yourself."

The first use he made of his vigour when he did return to the stage, gartered by the new King, was to

exhibit articles of high treason against the good friend who had given him this excellent advice. But in this, as in everything else, he failed egregiously. His articles were thrown out by the Peers; and after a few years of impatient and inefficacious display in Parliament, he went out of town, and died at Chelsea, where his fine person was deposited.

Supplies arrive on the 11th, and the jubilant army, with Goring's troops hanging in clouds upon their track, move on to Axminster, and thence to Tiverton, which is at once blocked up, stormed, and taken with miraculous haste, as usual. Exeter is the next point of attack, and Fairfax accordingly presses on, and brings his artillery under the shadow of the walls at St. Mary Autree.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY HONOURED FATHER, THE LORD FAIRFAX.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I HAVE some hopes of procuring a place in these parts for Mr. Chaloner to be burgess of. I will do what I may in it. I shall forbear here to give your lordship an account of our present condition in the west, but desire you to receive it from Rushworth. So soon as two or three places on the east side of Exeter are fortified, and are now almost finished, we shall make our head-quarters about Tiverton; the enemy doth lose men daily, and is very desirous to make conditions for themselves. I hear the Prince (Rupert) is at Pendennis; there is a party that would persuade him over sea. I think

it would be better if it pleased God he could be prevented; there will be a head where he is, for malignants to draw to, and a ground for foreign states to take part with, for their ends, under the pretence of defending innocency. I shall trouble your lordship no longer, but humbly desiring your blessing, take leave to rest,

Your lordship's most obedient son,

T. FAIRFAX.

Autre, 14th November, 1645.

My wife presents her duty to your lordship, and stays yet a week longer, till my Lady Pawlet be ready to travel.

The business at Exeter, however, is not so speedily finished as he hopes, and instead of making head-quarters about Tiverton, he is doomed to be buried in the morasses at Autree for some weeks to come.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY HONOURED FATHER, THE LORD FAIRFAX, QUEEN STREET, LONDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I SHALL use the best means I can to get Sir William Selby a burgess's place here; but I see every man's affections are so engaged to their particular relations, as I something doubt my own interest here, unless I go a more open and public way than is fit in this business; yet I shall omit nothing I can do in it. We lie yet still as we did; but I hope presently we shall do something by way of advancing our quarters further west; but this will be questionable if we send more forces eastward, which at the next council of war will be determined. There is nothing more

that is material to acquaint your lordship from these parts. I have writ to Major-General Points, humbly desiring your lordship to give conveyance to it upon the first opportunity. So, humbly desiring your lordship's pardon and blessing, I remain

Your lordship's most obedient son,

T. FAIRFAX.

Autre, Nov. 29th, 1645.

The wet season has set in, and the troops, plunged into unwholesome quarters, crowded together, and ill-furnished with provisions and accommodations, are dying off every day. Worse still, Plymouth is threatened, and Fairfax, eager to come to its relief, is unable to liberate himself or his diminishing army. During this dismal suspension of activity, he negociates with the Prince of Wales, who answers him, through Lord Capel, in a letter which reflects with marvellous fidelity the paternal style of mixed cajolery and obstinacy. This is the Lord Capel who, in the early days of Parliamentary grievances, was one of the first to cry out against kingly oppression, and who in about three years hence will be found "lying shorter by the head" at Whitehall.

FROM THE LORD ARTHUR CAPEL TO SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX.

SIR,

IN answer to yours of the 8th of this month, his Highness hath commanded me to let you know that he did not believe that his overture of engaging himself in the

mediation of a blessed peace for this miserable kingdom, (which he did, and does still most earnestly desire to labour in) would have brought him an invitation to quit his piety and loyalty to his Royal father by dividing his interest from that of his Majesty's, whereby he should render himself unworthy and uncapable of the fruits of that peace he labours for. If his former propositions may be consented unto, he hopes God will so bless his sincere intentions and desires, as to make him a blessed instrument, to preserve this kingdom from desolation, but if that be rejected he shall give the world no cause to believe that he will forfeit that honour and integrity which can only preserve him in a capacity of doing that service; and shall, with patience, attend God's good pleasure, until his endeavours may be applied with preservation of his innocency. This is all I have in command from his Highness,

Your servant,

ARTHUR CAPEL.

Exeter, December 1st, 1645.

The condition of the men at Autree gets worse and worse, and, even if they are ordered to Plymouth, they are no longer fit to undertake the service. The sickness has penetrated to the General's quarters. Rushworth communicates this disheartening intelligence to Lord Fairfax who is now up in London, at his son's house in Queen-street, trying to exorcise money out of Parliament. He also encloses to his lordship the scented note from Lord Capel.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX,
AT HIS HOUSE IN QUEEN STREET, LONDON,
THESE PRESENT.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

YOUR lordship may perceive, by the inclosed, how little the Prince esteems of that dutiful and respective letter of the General's to his Highness. He may now thank himself if his condition proves worse, having refused so fair an offer. The army is sickly: many die daily: the disease is infectious; the quarters bare; and truly, I fear, a great mortality will ensue for want of accommodation, to the foot especially. Besides Colonel Pickering, there are divers other officers dead, and many sick. Three sick in the General's family of this new fever, whereof Mr. Blackbeard is one. We had been in no condition to move to Plymouth, if the Lords had obtained their desires. We have little news. The enemy is not only much divided but dispersed; yet as high in their thoughts as they at Oxford are. The General hath sent his own regiment of horse towards Oxford, to join with Colonel Whaley and Colonel Ireton. Colonel Rainsborough's regiment of foot, and Colonel Fleetwood's of horse, are marching towards Corfe Castle. Having no more to trouble your lordship withal, I rest

Your lordship's most humble servant,

J. RUSHWORTH.

Dec. 3rd, 1645.

The head quarters is still at Autry.

The General hath received advertisement Youghall is relieved; and that Sir Charles Scott and Sir Robert Stewart

have slain a bishop and 1000 rebels. The General formerly sent all the provisions belonging to this army, and lent 1000*l.* of the soldiers' money to the relief of Youghall, so sad were their condition without present relief. When any monies come in upon the new ordinance, it will be requisite to move for the repayment of their 1000*l.*

At last Fairfax, having concluded his works, and hearing that the Prince, whose army is wasting away as fast as his own, has sent out to gather troops from Dartmouth and Barnstaple and other places, resolves to break away from the infectious marsh of Autree, and orders several regiments across the river into better air at Crediton, where they meditate an attempt on a royalist garrison at Poldram House. He is assisted in his councils by Cromwell, fresh from the sieges of Basing and Langford Houses, and the intrepid Sir Hardress Waller, who shows evidence of perilous service in a wounded arm. They are here collecting their brigades, whose "hum of preparation" may be heard at the enemy's out-posts; and the watch-fires at night, casting their broad glare into the waters of the Exe, give intimation to the curious eyes of sentinels on the ramparts that the Parliamentarians are once more about to take the field. Fairfax, redeemed from miserable Autree, is again restored to his proper element. His activity is incessant. He has transferred his head-quarters to Tiverton, scared the enemy out of Kirton, and still holds Exeter in a state of siege.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, AT HIS HOUSE IN QUEEN STREET.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

SINCE yesterday that I writ to Sir Thomas Widdrington, nothing of note hath happened, only intelligence of the enemy's distraction; besides a message from my Lord Newport of the intention to send the Prince beyond sea to Holland, and of the Holland ships there attending. Upon our advance to Kirton, the enemy is gone from Newton Bushell in great disorder. I shall suddenly give your lordship a further account; Mr. Blackbeard lieth speechless, and doubt he will not recover: more fallen sick.

Your lordship's humble servant,

J. R.

Tiverton, December 10*th*, 1645.

J. RUSHWORTH, ESQ. TO LORD FAIRFAX.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

THIS day the General is gone to Kirton, to see the making that place a strong quarter, and to give orders about a design, within these two nights to be put in execution, in the taking in of a place of strength the enemy is fortifying upon the river. I hope there shall, within few days, be no manner of access into the town with permission. My Lord Goring continues still at Dartmouth. As soon as this place is taken (Poldram Castle), we shall annoy the enemy in the South-Hams, and give them little rest; I hope, enforce them

into Cornwall. We have little news else, in these parts, worth your lordship's knowledge. I remain,

Your lordship's most faithful and humble servant,

J. RUSHWORTH.

Tiverton, Dec. 12, 1645.

The troops are in motion about Crediton, and have attempted Poldram House, and been fairly beaten back, when Fairfax writes again to his father.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY HONOURED FATHER, THE LORD FAIRFAX, IN QUEEN STREET, LONDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I SHOULD give you oftener account from these parts but that I know you have it every week by other relations. The other day we sent a party over the river Ex, to possess Poldram House; but being prepossessed by the enemy, and the party not sufficient to storm it, our men took a church, half a mile nearer Exeter, from whence the enemy sallied out that night with 500 musketeers, and assaulted our men in the church. They disputed the business for three hours very hotly; the enemy came up close to the windows with halberts, and threw in fifteen grenades, but, by the goodness of God, our men forced them to retreat, leaving two men slain behind them, many others wounded. We, finding the place more dangerous than useful, quit it again. The extreme coldness of the weather, and want of clothes, makes us act slower. This day a small party of ours from Crediton fell into an out-quarter of the enemy, and took a captain of horse and about

ten troopers prisoners. They consume away very fast, and I hear they have not 100 men in some regiments. There is an infectious fever in our quarters, but the countrymen rather than soldiers die of it. This season is so ill for travelling, as my wife cannot yet conveniently take her journey up to London; and the rather because my quarters all this time are so settled as there is no trouble to her or me in her stay. So, desiring your lordship's blessing, I remain,

Your most obedient son,

T. FAIRFAX.

Tiverton, Dec. 19, 1645.

The banks of the river bristle over with little garrisons, and we hear of surprises, and assaults, and deserters coming in with intelligence, every hour in the day. Exeter is clearly reduced to extremity for want of provisions, and her last hope lies in the long-expected reinforcements. The progress of affairs is graphically sketched in a couple of letters from the indefatigable Mr. Rushworth.

J. RUSHWORTH, ESQ., TO THE LORD FAIRFAX.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

SINCE the time the enemy was so well beaten off at the church, they durst not reattempt it, a thing we desired they would engage in, with two pieces of ordnance they had drawn out, for then two regiments more being come up to Whetstone, midway between Crediton and Exeter, to those three already with Sir Hard. Waller, we had got between

them and home, which they perceiving, made a stand two days together, the weather not admitting us to be long on duty in expectation thereof; no accommodations thereabouts for our men. The generals caused the foot in the church to be drawn off over the water, Thursday at noon; they in the castle never offered to interrupt their passage. If we had had any garrison on the other side near the church, or could with an ordinary party sent from Crediton to relieve them, we had not quit the church, being useful as to the river opposite to our garrison at Nutwell, as the two blockhouses at Gravesend; but having twelve boats, four manned with ordnance, the river is sufficiently interrupted, few passing by, or none in boats. Colonel Okey, from Fulford House, fell on their quarter, and took a captain of horse and twelve prisoners. A captain of horse (one Captain Bell) is come in, and thirty horse with him. This being all I have to present unto your lordship, I take my leave, and rest

Your lordship's most humble servant,

J. RUSHWORTH.

Tiverton, Dec. 20th, 1645.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, AT HIS HOUSE IN QUEEN STREET, LONDON, THESE.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

THE enemy yesterday morning, about two of the clock, assaulted our men in Mr. Davy's house at Crediton, after they had been about six hours in the house; but other men had so barricaded the ways, and cast up breastworks, that they beat off the enemy, killed a lieutenant-colonel and many others, and took many prisoners, which they are now

bringing to the head-quarter; this service was performed by one of Colonel Okey's dragoon captains, which he sent from Fulford House. Sir Hardress Waller no sooner heard of the engagement, but he sent 1000 foot from Crediton to their relief, but, blessed be God! they had relieved themselves; this morning two regiments of horse ordnance, after those foot, to reside on the other side, to countenance the fortifying of those two garrisons of Fulford and Teene, and settling some others in a line, though all at a distance; for if we stop the Southams for sending provisions, Exeter is quite debarred of all succour. The general had it late last night in debate of sending another regiment of foot to Corfe Castle, in lieu of that which is called away; but in regard the enemy is preparing to relieve Exeter, with droves of cattle and sheep, &c., there is like to be need of the greatest part of our army for their resistance. Inhabitants come forth daily to us, their store of provisions being spent, and wanting fire; and many are not able to pay the billet of seven, ten, or twelve soldiers on a poor family—all sixpence a man. Very suddenly we shall be round them; but we can do it all once. This being all I have to present unto your lordship, I rest,

Your lordship's most faithful servant,

J. RUSHWORTH.

Tiverton, Saturday, Dec. 23*d*, 1645.

Last night there came four troopers, well mounted, from the enemy; they came from Totness, and affirm the Plymouth horse beat up the enemy's quarters, some twelve miles from Plymouth, forced the enemy to fly to their works, and took several prisoners.

I have not writ to Mr. Speaker or Mr. Prideaux: your lordship will be pleased to communicate unto them.

The reinforcements for beleaguered Exeter are at last on the march. A formidable body of eight or nine thousand horse and foot are gathering about Tavistock and Oakhampton; but Fairfax has early intelligence, and has already determined upon his future movements.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, AT HIS HOUSE IN QUEEN STREET, LONDON, THESE.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

THERE will be no want in the General effectually to endeavour that for Sir William Selby. Where engagements are already made by others for choice of others named, it will be difficult to put them by. But if your lordship please to move the House, or get some to do it, that the writs for Tiverton may be sent down, no place so likely to have a burgesship obtained for Sir William Selby as here, the General being present. If your lordship please to move Mr. Prideaux herein, he can hasten the writs, or take off what is the *remora*,* if your lordship please to advise with Sir Thomas Widdrington herein. The enemy find themselves injured that Exeter is so blocked up, that without an army they cannot considerably relieve it; so now they are drawing into a body, horse and foot, all Oakhampton, and out of Cornwall, so that we are like suddenly to have some engagement on that side of Exeter. We keep three houses and Crediton fortified.

They are well at Plymouth. The enemy endeavoured to tempt the governor, but fruitlessly. The man was hanged

* Difficulty, or impediment.

on Saturday. This is all I have worth your lordship's knowledge.

Your lordship's most humble servant,

J. RUSHWORTH.

Tiverton, Saturday, Dec. 27th, 1645.

This brings us to the close of 1645. The weather is intensely cold, and the ground is covered with snow. The scene round Exeter presents a dreary spectacle in these shivering December nights. Fairfax is moving away his heavy guns over the deep roads by slow and difficult marches, and his troops, falling in from post to post, are forming into companies, and departing in different and rather perplexing directions. The camp is broken up, and Exeter relieved for the present.

The year has been a most prosperous one for the Parliament. The King, notwithstanding the multitudinous gatherings of Gorings and Grenvilles about Oakhampton, the recruiting in Wales, and the shouts of the Montroses over the Border, is in an extremity out of which the kingliest optimism can discern no present means of deliverance. After the battle of Naseby, escaping as he could into Wales, he collected a new army, and reappeared in England, not clear as to his destination, but hoping to get up into the North, (his only chance), and effect a junction with Montrose. In this design he was frustrated, and driven back southwards. Stumbling upon Huntingdon in his flight, he miraculously beat a foot-company on a drawbridge, and

took possession of the town. Encouraged by this piece of good fortune, his Majesty turned towards Chester, met the Parliamentarians at Rowton Heath, and had his Huntingdon laurels blown into the air. This annihilation of his Welsh legions was, comparatively, a trivial misfortune to that which had befallen him only eleven days before in Scotland, where he had garnered up his last hopes. Montrose's army had been literally exterminated at Philiphaugh, more papers were taken revealing secret plots, and Montrose himself was forced to take refuge in the Highlands. All was over in the North. Again his Majesty, but with greater difficulty than before, fled into Wales, and, raising fresh levies, returned and took up his quarters at Newark, from whence he precipitately withdrew to Oxford, hearing that the Parliamentarians were shattering Shelford Manor about the ears of Lord Chesterfield.

While the war is yet moving darkly in the West, his Majesty is wintering in Oxford, and opening negociations for a treaty of peace with Parliament. Had he acted in this crisis with faith and sincerity all might yet have been well. But even in his agony of fear the Stuart equivocates.

1646.

FAIRFAX'S EXPEDITION INTO CORNWALL.

LORD HOPTON'S ARMY DISBANDED.

SURRENDER OF EXETER.

THE KING MAKES HIS ESCAPE IN DISGUISE.

FAIRFAX TAKES POSSESSION OF OXFORD.

TERMINATION OF HOSTILITIES.

THE SCOTS GIVE UP THE PERSON OF THE KING TO PARLIAMENT.

1646.

THE inclemency of the season prevented Fairfax from advancing with his usual speed. His design was to march upon Dartmouth, the present head-quarters of the Prince; and, to divert attention from his real purpose, he sent Sir Hardress Waller with a detachment to Bow, a feint to bewilder the Royalists at Oakhampton. In the beginning of January we find him still at Tiverton, occupied, amongst other matters, with the approaching election. Parliament were issuing writs to supply the room of members who had been formally disabled by their adherence to the King's cause. There was a heavy batch of vacancies occasioned in this way, and Fairfax was using his influence to secure the return of Sir William Selby for Tiverton.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, THESE PRESENT.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I WRIT by the last post about the getting writs issued for Tiverton, (the only place the General can think of), to befriend Sir W. Selby. I have writ by this post to Sir

T. Widdrington to that purpose. The Prince is come to Dartmouth: hath sent to Exeter for his arms. The Cornish at Totness, they come and go, so as we are uncertain of their strength. The weather will not admit of a march, especially with horse: when they rendezvous, we shall do the like, or before, as intelligence is. At Dunster, Colonel Blake's mines take no effect. The work is like to be long there.

Your lordship's humble servant,

J. RUSHWORTH.

Tiverton, January 3rd, 1645, [*N. S.* 1646].

On the 8th of January, Cromwell advanced by night to Crediton, and surprised Lord Wentworth's brigade at Bovey Tracy; and on the 10th, Sir Thomas Fairfax reached Ashburton, being now on the high road to Dartmouth.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY HONOURED FATHER, THE LORD FAIRFAX, IN QUEEN STREET.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I WRIT the last week to you of my intention to place Colonel Thornton in Pontefract, holding myself noways engaged to any other to favour them in that particular, though other way I would do Major Rookby what good office I can. Our business here (God be thanked) goes on very prosperously. We advanced with the army into the south side of Devonshire, where the enemy lay so secure, as Lieutenant-General Cromwell, with some horse and two regiments of foot marched to a town where the enemy had a

guard of three regiments of horse; he was in upon them before he was discovered; it being night, the men got away, unless a very few; but above 400 horse and seven colours were taken. The next day we went to their head-quarter at Ashburton, which was gone a little before our coming thither. We sent a party after their rear, which brought us in some prisoners, and hastened their retreat, with much confusion, towards Cornwall. There is so great a fear, through the hand of God, upon them, as three of our men did chase a hundred of them. We shall pursue (God willing) our advantage so soon as this sharp season will permit. Without prejudicing the army too much, I staid one day behind the army, to see my wife: a little better before I left her: (whom I thank God) I left in a good way of recovery. I shall trouble your lordship with no more; now humbly take leave, to rest

Your lordship's most obedient son,

T. FAIRFAX.

Ashburton, January 10*th*, 1645, [*N. S.* 1646].

The Ashburton retreat had a more important result than is attached to it in this letter. The Royalists, apprehending that the whole of Fairfax's army was upon them, abandoned the siege of Plymouth, and leaving their posts undemolished, and their ordnance and ammunition behind, fled in confusion over the Tamar into Cornwall.

The next letter, three days' later, is dated from Dartmouth.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, THESE.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

THIS day intelligence is come, that the enemy hath raised the siege at Plymouth — in haste — left behind him seven piece of ordnance and four barrels of powder. A great fear is upon the enemy. We are now before Dartmouth, and purpose to attempt something this night by storm.

I am your lordship's humble servant,

J. RUSHWORTH.

Totness, January 13th, at noon, 1645, [*N. S.* 1646.]

The weather changed, and the storming was put off; and in the interval Fairfax dispatched orders for Captain Batten to bring up his squadron to support the operations from the sea. On the 18th the town was stormed, and taken with such extraordinary rapidity that the assailants got possession of the enemy's cannon after the first discharge.

FOR THE RIGHT NOBLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, THESE PRESENT.

MY LORD,

THE business of Dartmouth hath required much consideration: 150 piece of ordnance in it. Captain Batten is come in with a squadron of ships, who is to act his part by water, while we do it by land. The sudden thaw hath a little deferred the business; before this come to your hands, it will over. This day the General goes to set every man

his post. I hope in the Lord, we shall carry it. I was never more assured of a place. Intelligence is come the enemy hath quit Tavistock, and is gone into Cornwall. We shall (as soon as this business of Dartmouth is over) do more service westward. We have good news of your Cornish part of the army that lies to the north; have taken eighty horse, two colonels, and thirty prisoners, and brought them in yesterday to Crediton: have taken, besides those, about 200 horse in several parties. Lieutenant-General Porter is come in; very speedily your lordship shall hear further from

Your lordship's humble servant,

J. RUSHWORTH.

Totnes, January 16, 1645, [*N.S.* 1646.]

My Lord Newport is in Dartmouth, and would fain come out. Yesterday we killed the Governor Lieutenant-Colonel on a wager between two red coats that took aim.

Since the writing hereof, the intelligence is, the enemy left 200 arms in Sir Francis Drake's house, and the Cornish will not permit Goring's horse into their county; that they intend to break through, and are gone towards Torrington. The General hath sent horse to watch their motions, and sent to Colonel Whaley to draw to Reading to be in readiness.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, THESE.

MY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

As soon as we were masters of the town, I sent a letter to your lordship in the express to your house. The two forts are since surrendered, and Mr. Peters, this bearer, can relate all the particulars. It is one of the greatest

businesses the General hath yet done—to God be the glory. I take my leave, and remain

Your lordship's most humble servant,

J. RUSHWORTH.

Dartmouth, January 20th, 1645, [*N. S.* 646.]

This "Mr. Peters," the bearer, was the famous Hugh Peters, who attended the army on some of these occasions in a half-military, half-clerical capacity, fighting, preaching, and carrying dispatches by turns. In some of the Biographies he is said to have borne a Colonel's commission, but that is not true: he officiated as chaplain to the Train-bands, and sometimes as secretary to Cromwell, who made effective use of his wild eloquence and fanatical devotion in stimulating the religious fervour of the troops. That Peters often threw himself into the thick of the danger may be seen from the minute eye-witness narratives he gave to the Commons of the sacking of Winchester and Basing House—very curious specimens of the earnest character of the man and the times. He was not the only priest who mixed personally in these scenes. The Archbishop of York took an active part before Conway, and was wounded in the neck. Peters was more lucky, and escaped without a scratch. It might have been better otherwise. He survived in a whole skin till the Restoration, when he was executed with Jones, Harrison, and the rest. Of his life and manners we have a deplorable account from the Royalists, who tell us that he was originally expelled from college, that he then went upon the stage, where he

acquired that peculiar extravagance of action and gesticulation alluded to by Burnet who called him an "enthusiastic buffoon," that he fled to Holland on a charge of adultery, and was suspected of being of one of the men in masks who executed the King. Peters denied the charges, especially the last, which was certainly false. Whatever eccentricities or vices he may have been guilty of, he was a conspicuous type of Puritan frenzy, and appears to have been thoroughly sincere in all the excesses to which it committed him. In the following letters to Fairfax, he speaks out of the fullness of convictions not to be lightly set aside by modern scepticism.

TO MY TRULY HONOURABLE AND FAITHFUL GENERAL, SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX.

SIR,

ONE of the greatest comforts I have had in this world, next to the grace of God in Christ, to my poor soul, hath been to be a member of your army, and a spectator of His presence with you and it. What others do, I know not; but it is my duty to return to my work, and to meet you again; which I am bold to do with this simple present. I know your mind, that must not, will not, be flattered; nor am I skilful in that mystery. I have seen you upon earth, and doubt not to meet you triumphing in heaven. I only must crave leave to speak your own words, That your great experiences of God's power and mercy, have made strong obligation upon you to love Him and the saints, which I have seen you do impartially; you have made it your

interest, and now find you are not deceived. The God of all your unparalleled mercy dwell in that thriving soul of yours, strengthen you throughout to the completing of this great work, yea,

Serus in cœlum redeas, diuque
Lætus intersis populo Britanno.

For myself (if it be worth your acceptance), I am resolved to live and die in your and the kingdom's service; and as you have obliged three kingdoms to you and many thousands of saints, so none of them more to honour you than,

Sir,

Your ever faithful servant in Christ,

HUGH PETERS.

The writer of the next letter is the General Leslie who shattered Montrose at Philiphaugh, and who afterwards stood out so lustily for the Kirk in Scotland.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX, GENERAL, THESE.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

MY best affection of love with my humblest respects remembered. I thought it my incumbent duty to let you have a copy of the letter sent by me unto the Governor of Carlisle, together with the answer thereof, both of which you will receive herein inclosed, whereby I conceive that the town is able to hold out two months yet, if not more.

I am bold in behalf of this gentleman, the bearer hereof, to be your humble suitor that your honour would be pleased to be assistant unto him in taking up and getting in of some

old debts and monies resting unto him within the county of Yorkshire; as likewise that my lord would be pleased (as I desired in my last to his lordship) to grant me a pass for Colonel Attkins, which I did promise unto him at the surrender of Naward Castle. Thus hoping for a good answer and favourable construction, I remain

Your honour's most humble servant,

DAVID LESLIE.

Daston Hall, the 17th January, 1645, [*N. S.* 1646.]

Having secured Dartmouth, Sir Thomas Fairfax fell back upon Exeter. Poldram Castle surrenders at last; but floods and rains delay the larger operations. Lord Hopton in the meanwhile has been appointed to the command in Cornwall, superseding Goring, who has been sent off on secret negociations to France.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, PRESENT.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

THE General's head-quarter is at Chudley; most of his forces close before Exeter. Yesterday Poldram Castle, that commands the river, was surrendered to Colonel Hammond, when he was ready to storm; another out-garrison they quit. There are good hopes in a short time to get Exeter; the enemy in Cornwall stirs not, though Hopton is General, and Greenvile committed to Pendennis. I have sent to Mr. Speaker letters intercepted, but most in figures; yet the scope of the business may be easily discerned. This being all I have to present unto your lordship, I remain

Your lordship's most humble servant,

J. RUSHWORTH.

Chudleigh, January 26th, 12 *at night.*

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY HONOURED FATHER, THE LORD FAIRFAX, LONDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I MET your letter at Tiverton, being come thither for two or three days to see my wife, whom I found in a very good way of recovery, (God be thanked). So soon as she is fit for a journey, intends for London. We both acknowledge, with humble thanks, your lordship's great favour and care of her. I have lately summoned Exeter, but had a modest denial: the particulars I have sent up to the Parliament. We intend to block it up closer, and march with the rest of the army further west. I must acknowledge the Parliament's liberality; and humbly desire your lordship to let me know if anything more be expected from me in expressing it. I have writ to Mr. Whit about horses, desiring two of them may be well matched. We have intercepted letters coming lately out of France, from the Queen and other, desiring the Prince may be sent thither; but the King inclines rather to send him into Denmark. They have little hope of forces from France. I hope in a few days we shall be in motion again with the army. I have sent for Major-General Skippon's regiment, from Bristol, and the regiment from Corfe Castle. Without the addition of those forces we shall not be able to carry on the business of the West with that expedition we desire. So humbly desiring your lordship's blessing, I remain

Your most obedient son,

T. FAIRFAX.

Tiverton, Jan. 31*st*, 1645, [*N. S.* 1646.]

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

THE constant rain hath much hindered our proceedings about Exeter. Floods are great. This day a council of war will confirm or alter former resolutions. Speedily your lordship will hear more. I believe we shall leave enough to do the work about Exeter, and advance to break the enemy totally in the field. The horse that intended East went to Dunster, whilst Colonel Cook was drawn off to oppose the Oxford horse in Dorsetshire. Colonel Blake's men took fifty of them, yet some relief, we conceive, they got in; but that, as yet, is not certain. My lady is well. Very speedily your lordship shall hear more from your

Most humble servant,

J. RUSHWORTH.

Chudleigh, Feb. 7th, 1645, [*N. S.* 1646.]

As Rushworth anticipated, it was determined to leave a sufficient force to carry on the siege at Exeter, and to advance with the main body of the army against Lord Hopton, who was collecting his forces near Torrington. Sir Hardress Waller was charged with the command at Exeter, and Fairfax advanced towards Torrington in person.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX,
IN QUEEN STREET, LONDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I RECEIVED yesterday, a letter from Mr. Pym, a member of the House, but now in Somersetshire, that he hath

procured my brother Selby a burgesship at Ilchester, in the foresaid county, being effectually solicited by Mr. Pridieux to do it; it is come very clear to him; the other burgess is Mr. Alex. Pym. We have blocked Exeter in straiter than it was, and with the rest of the army are upon our march towards the enemy, which lies about Torrington, and the frontiers of Cornwall; if we go into that county (as probably we shall), I fear nothing but the soldiers' want of money to pay their quarters. Good carriage towards them being the best way to gain them, desire the Parliament would be pleased to consider how to supply the army timely with money, as of great importance to the carrying on well the affairs there. Something your lordship will hear shortly of this motion. I hope good our trust is in God, who is a sure rock of defence in stormy times. I shall trouble your lordship with nothing more at this time, but humbly desiring your blessing, remain,

Your lordship's most obedient son,

T. FAIRFAX.

Crediton, 13th February, 1645, [*S. N.* 1646.]

I hope my wife will be fit, so soon as the season, for her journey up to London.

On the 16th, an engagement took place at Torrington, when Lord Hopton was defeated and driven back into Cornwall, Fairfax following with the whole of his army.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX,
IN QUEEN STREET, LONDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I SHALL not need to give your lordship the particulars of the good success God hath given us at Torrington, against the Lord Hopton, for the letters to the Parliament will fully relate it; it was as hot service as any hath been since our coming forth; the enemy showed more resolution than ever; I saw them after we were come into the town,—their magazine, which lay in the church, which was almost eighty barrels of powder, took fire, and blew up all the church; timber, stones, and sheets of lead, showering down as hail on all parts of the town. I believe there were 200 of the enemy prisoners, and some of our own men blown up, and buried in the ruins of the church. I must acknowledge God's great mercy to me, and some others that stood where great webs of lead fell thickest, yet, praised be God, no man hurt; only a horse of a gentleman of the Life Guard, that stood by me, killed. I could not but mention this as one of the strange accidents that I have seen, and as great a providence in preservation of some. Those horse are all gone into Cornwall, whither we shall presently follow them. I shall give your lordship a further account of things here as there is occasion, so humbly desiring your blessing, remain,

Your lordship's most obedient son,

T. FAIRFAX.

Torrington, 18th February, 1645, [*N. S.* 1646.]

Since the writing of this, I understand the man that gave fire to the powder, did confess that Lord Hopton did promise him thirty pounds to do it. I sent to examine him further, but he was senseless with the bruises he got.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, THESE PRESENT.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

YESTERDAY was the great debate at a full council of war concerning the armies marching into Cornwall; and it was concluded in the affirmative, *nemine contradicente*. I hope it will be as happy an expedition as ever we made yet. We leave both Exeter and Barnstable blocked up. All the enemy's force are on the other side the river in Cornwall: most of it twenty miles in the county. Our wounded men recover apace. The General's greatest trouble is, how to order the army so, as not to be harsh to the Cornish, who were so harsh to our men formerly. Hopton hath not yet rallied 300 foot. I humbly take my leave, and rest

Your lordship's most humble servant,

J. RUSHWORTH.

Torrington, Feb. 23rd, 1645, [*N. S.* 1646.]

The Prince of Wales, who was sheltering in Cornwall, now gave up the struggle in despair, and fled to Scilly. Fresh proofs of the faithlessness of the King fell into Fairfax's hands at this time in letters which were taken from an Irish vessel, and which showed that while his Majesty was urging upon Parliament a treaty, he was privately intriguing through numerous agents for the assistance of foreign troops and loans of money. These frequent discoveries of royal insincerity determined Fairfax to lose no time in parleying with Hopton. The passes of the country were in his hands, from the north to the south sea; his troops were already in the suburbs

of Truro, where the enemy lay; but he wisely preferred the dissolution of the Royalist army to a needless expenditure of blood. Hopton, a gallant and honourable man, stood out as long as he could, submitting only at the last extremity to a treaty, under the provisions of which his 4500 mounted soldiers were disbanded before his eyes, and 2000 stand of arms placed at the disposal of the Parliamentary General.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, THESE PRESENT.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

THIS is the third to your lordship since the treaty with Hopton; it is now concluded; hostages given. To-morrow, at eight o'clock, they begin to be disbanded. There is no fear but conditions will be punctually observed on our part, and no article violated. 120 musketeers, with their colours, came in to-day. The Governor of St. Mawe's Castle, which commands the haven of Falmouth, more than Pendennis doth, hath sent to surrender. The General hath sent, this night, to possess it. God is good to us. I doubt not of Pendennis, after a few days. I am

Your lordship's humble servant,

J. RUSHWORTH.

Truro, March 13th, 11 *at night,* [*N. S.* 1646.]

The commanders on both sides (now that the treaty is ended) supped this night with the General.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

THROUGH God's goodness, we have almost put a period to the Western war, there remaining now no body of an army in the field against us. Being advanced as far as Truro, we had the enemy in an isthmus of land, where they could not escape us. Yet, upon serious consideration, finding dissolving them by treaty would be as effectual as any other way and less hazardous, we concluded these articles I have sent the Parliament, which I hope will be very considerable to our affairs, seeing they are so totally reduced and denuded. I hope the rest of the towns will come in in good season. The breaking of these forces thus, we esteem a great mercy, considering they had 4500 horse, and that we must have been put to many straits and some hazard, if we had fought with them. I trust God hath directed this for the best. I have not time to enlarge myself further; so humbly desiring your lordship's pardon and blessing, I remain,

Your lordship's most obedient and affectionate son,

T. FAIRFAX.

Truro, March 15th, 1645, [*N. S.* 1646.]

The Royalists being thus broken up in Cornwall, Fairfax returned to Exeter, which surrendered on the 9th of April. Barnstaple, to which allusion is made in these letters, submitted three days afterwards.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, THESE PRESENT.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

YESTERDAY the General drew his army round Exeter, faced it within musket shot, sent a summons; an answer of inclination to a treaty returned. This day the offer to treat was manifested by sending the names of committee. Being ten in number, the General hath sent to reduce them to six. On Friday the treaty begins. By what I observe, a few days will bring us into Exeter, and Barnstaple is an incident inseparable to Exeter. It yields with Exeter; that we had acknowledged of in Cornwall, and therefore came to Exeter first. This is all I have at present to acquaint your lordship with. I humbly take my leave, and remain,

Your lordship's humble servant,

J. RUSHWORTH.

Before Exeter, April 1st, 1646.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

THIS day a treaty is begun for surrendering of Exeter, which I hope will be concluded, and we in possession of before you receive this; which, if it please God to effect, we shall in a few days march the whole army eastward. I have already sent Commissary-General Ireton, with three regiments of horse and one of dragoons, towards Oxford, to join with the rest there. Pendennis and the Mount will be so easy work, as the forces we have raised in these parts will,

I trust, be sufficient to carry it on. I hear not yet of any election to be made for burgess; but I shall leave it as a request with the western gentlemen, that they will procure two that shall be named places there. I desire your lordship's pardon that I writ so short and so seldom; indeed my indisposition of health is often as much the cause of it as any business; but I desire to be thankful for the mercies I have received, and hope the Lord will continue them to me. I shall now trouble you no more, but shall shortly give your lordship a fuller account, so humbly desire your blessing.

Your lordship's most obedient son,

T. FAIRFAX.

Cullum John, April 4th, 1646.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, IN QUEEN STREET, LONDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

THIS day the treaty is concluded, and we are presently to have the castle and forts delivered up to us, and the town on Monday next; for performance of it we have Colonel Coventry and Colonel Philpots, and two more as hostages. I am going to Barnstable, which, I have good hopes, will come in on a summons. Then the western war, I trust in the Lord, is finished. Pendennis and the Mount, though they yet hold out a while, can do no hurt. The other day, a mayor, with a captain and thirty soldiers, came out of Pendennis, and first sent to Colonel Hammond, who commands our forces there, that they would deliver up the works they were in unto him, if he would send some men to possess it; but not willing to trust them, they only came away them-

selves. Colonel Hammond sent a party of horse to Market Jew, a town near the Mount, who happily surprised sixty soldiers, being almost all they had in the castle, for they were not above one hundred.

I have writ to the Parliament, to desire the government of Exeter may be conferred on Colonel Hammond, who is a very faithful and valliant gentleman; and that which will most advantage the Parliament affairs is, that he will be strict in discipline, and ready to do right to the country. A more particular account will be sent very speedily to the House of the surrender of Exeter; and, I hope, Barnstable too. I hope, before the last of this month, we shall be near Oxford. I shall now take leave to desire your prayers, and rest

Your most obedient son,

T. FAIRFAX.

Tiverton, April 9th, 1646.

FOR THE HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

MONDAY, (according to articles), Sir Jo. Berkley marched out; and the General entered Exeter, Tuesday. The town and castle of Barnstable were punctually surrendered, according to articles. To-morrow, the General marches.

Your lordship's humble servant,

J. RUSHWORTH.

Exeter, April 16th, 1646.

Donnington Castle, hallowed in earlier times as the residence of Spenser, and much talked about in these latter days as the stumbling-point which brought

reluctant Manchester into immediate collision with Cromwell, had surrendered on the 1st, so that there being no new castles or towns to sack in this part of the country, the victorious general directed his steps to Oxford; from whence we have some letters, in one of which Sir Thomas Fairfax gives the substance of the King's last communication to Parliament; and in another, notwithstanding his experience of royal duplicity, shows a disposition to think these people sincere at last!

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

THERE is little news. As yet, we are making bridges and entrenching. The General is very well, after a fit of the stone. There is a quarter reserved for your lordship and Sir Thomas Widdrington, at Garsington. I humbly take my leave, and remain

Your lordship's humble servant,

J. RUSHWORTH.

Leaguer before Oxford, May 5th, 1646.

FOR THE LORD FAIRFAX, OR SIR THOMAS WIDDRINGTON.

In answer to the general summons there was returned from Sir Tho. Glenham:—

SIR,

I have received your letter summoning me to render this city, which was given me in trust for his Majesty's

use. But in respect there are many persons of great eminence, I must desire you to receive for answer a request that you will be pleased to send a safe conduct for Sir Jo. Monson and Mr. Philip Warwick to repair unto you, at such a time and place as you shall appoint, by whom you shall understand what for the present is desired. By this answer, and some other circumstances I could tell you, it is conceived they are determined to treat. This is all at present.

May 11th, eleven o'clock at night.

I received your letter by Mr. Curtis, since the sealing hereof.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT BATH.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I HAVE nothing to inform you from hence, we being but in preparation either for treating or working. I hear the substance of his Majesty's letter was this:—That he was sorry so much blood was shed by these wars, which he imputed to his ill counsel that led him to these ill actions; that if the Parliament would send the propositions entered on at Uxbridge, he will sign them; if not, to send such propositions as are ready, and he will sign them, and the rest as they shall offer them to him. For Religion, he desires it may be settled with all convenient speed; and for his person, that both Houses would dispose of him as may be most for his honour and for the honour of both Houses; and for Oxford, he had sent a warrant enclosed to the governor

thereof, for to surrender upon honourable terms. This is all I have to present your lordship with; but the humble duty of,

Your lordship's most obedient son,

T. FAIRFAX.

May 26th, 1646.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT BATH.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

OUR treaty doth still continue. All things are agreed on concerning the soldiers, and they are satisfied with it. The article that took up the greatest debate was about compositions. We have accepted of two years' revenue; so that is concluded to. We think Monday will conclude all the rest. I think they do really desire to conclude with us. I thank your lordship for your care of me; but I doubt I shall not have time enough, so long as I am in this employment, to follow such a course as will help me. I believe Rushforth will give your lordship a further account of things from London. My wife presents her humble service and duty to your lordship; she is not quite resolved for a journey to Bath. I have nothing more to trouble your lordship with at this time: desiring your blessing, remain,

Your lordship's most obedient son,

T. FAIRFAX.

June 13th, 1646.

On the same day, Rushworth writes about the London news. He has literally nothing to relate,

except that Hudson is taken in Kent. A dead lull has set in everywhere; and the War Secretary, "instead of mounting barbéd steeds," is house-agenting for his lordship.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX AT BATH.—[*HASTE.*]

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

I AM loth to omit any opportunity of giving your lordship notice of affairs here. The treaty is in a manner concluded, for all matters of difficulty are over. The point of sequestration is reconciled; they agree to pay two years revenue. Hudson, that went away with the king, is taken in Kent. He confesses freely, of which your lordship will hear more shortly. The House of Commons is preparing a letter to the Parliament of Scotland; setting forth our jealousy of their army, and that to march home speedily, and deliver our garrisons, will be a means to set them right in our opinion. There is little news else: all are well here: though they be divided at London, we are united in the army. The French ambassador was this day to be heard in the House of Commons. The general has written again to the House about the disbanding of Major-General Massey's horse; there can none pass them; the messengers I send to your lordship I pay here out of the public stock, so they ought to receive nothing from your lordship. There is a house at Charing Cross, next door to my Lady Fairfax's, to be let about a month hence. It is, as I hear, about forty pounds a-year; hath a back door into Spring Garden, and a most convenient

house; most of the goods in it are to be sold. I desire your lordship's present answer herein.

J. R.

June 13th, 1646.

Ten o'clock at night, your company are newly come in, and say at next meeting all will be finished. About Thursday or Friday they will march out of Oxford.

A twelvemonth had elapsed since the new army had taken the field. A year of miracles! In the interval, the King's power had crumbled into dust. Fairfax had swept down his garrisons, and driven some of his choicest commanders, with the Prince of Wales at their head, out of the kingdom. The sound of the recruiting fife was heard no more in Wales; Scotland had expelled Montrose, and hanged such of his powerful friends as could be caught; the South and the West were restored to the whistling plough and the hum of business; a castle or two, here and there, held out, merely waiting the summons to surrender; and Oxford, the last refuge, after some formal coquetry, to keep up appearances with baffled allies abroad, submitted on the 20th June —the King having got off, in the disguise of a footman, upon the first notice of Fairfax's approach. The manner of his flight, with Dr. Hudson and Mr. Ashburnham, following the latter as a servant, with a cloak-bag, behind him; his adventure with a barber, who found much fault with the style of his hair, which had been villanously cut for the masquerade of his new character;

his fright at St. Albans, when a drunken man galloped violently at him; and his miscalculation in seeking safety amongst the Scotch at Newark, are historical incidents familiar to the world.

Upon the surrender of Oxford, the two Princes, Rupert and Maurice, now ready enough to get away upon any terms, left the kingdom to join their cousin in France. Banbury Castle, and the towns of Wallingford and Worcester, after some little bluster, capitulated without firing a shot; and Fairfax, relieved for a season from his toils, went to Bath to recruit his shattered health.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY HONOURED FATHER, THE LORD FAIRFAX.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

IT is so long since I writ, as I have need of your lordship's pardon. By this you will understand that Wallingford will be delivered up to us on Wednesday next. The particulars I have sent to the House. The Lord still follows us with His mercies. Oh, that we could be truly thankful to Him for them! Finding myself at some leisure, I thought it the fittest time for Bath. I did not see my coming to London could be any way serviceable, nor my stay about Oxford to much purpose, which made me choose that course, having such need of help for my health. I shall receive any advice from your lordship very thankfully, either concerning the public or myself in particular; and in the meantime I shall endeavour to keep together, and in good order, the

army, and shall wait on the Lord, to see what He shall do for us. My wife presents her duty to your lordship. She hath been very ill in her head. I hope we shall both have some benefit of Bath.

I desire your lordship to excuse me this brevity. I shall add more as there is occasion. So, desiring your blessing, remain

Your lordship's most obedient son,

T. FAIRFAX.

Forest Hill, July 23rd, 1646.

While the General is indulging in a short respite at Bath, we will make room for a few miscellaneous letters of a personal and domestic kind which belong to this period.

The first is from Sir George Wentworth, who had been member for Pontefract, but was "disabled," for his adherence to the King. Two months from the 6th May were allowed for compositions under the treaty of Newark, and Wentworth, who appears to have been comprised in the articles, offers one of his estates for sale to Lord Fairfax, to make up the amount.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX AT BATH, THESE.

MY LORD,

I AM here at London prosecuting my composition according to the articles of Newark. I find it likely to fall extremely heavy on me, and that I might be forced to sell land to make satisfaction. Ouston, my lord, was yours, and

the likeliest to raise money of anything I have, and, therefore, my lord, if you please to buy it, it shall be yours before any other, and cheaper; and I hope your lordship will be pleased to think of it, and to give me an answer hereto when you return to this town; I am now for Yorkshire, having done here what I can until the Yorkshire Committee make their certificate, and so I rest,

Your lordship's most humble servant,

GEORGE WENTWORTH.

Sunday, June 16th, 1646.

Here are a couple of letters which exhibit, under different aspects, some of the troubles of the time: the first from a country gentleman who has endeavoured to keep clear of both sides, and is indebted for his security to Lord Fairfax; the second from one who remains in exile for the sake of peace and safety.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY MUCH HONOURED LORD, THE LORD FAIRFAX, THESE PRESENT.

MY NOBLE LORD,

I WAS very joyful to hear by Sir John Paulett of your lordship's health and well-being, especially that you were pleased to call to memory our ancient acquaintance, with your noble desire to afford me your comfort in these my untimely sufferances; whose affections, as you may please to believe, never swayed me further than became an obedient servant, only careful of my country's happiness, and yet fearful to side with either party, as not able to judge of so transcendent a difference, but sorrowing in the highest degree to find such a separation threatening so much the

power of all; which God, I hope, hath timely prevented, by guiding his Majesty to the happy advice of his greatest councils, whose wisdoms (under God) is only able to re-establish some part of the happiness we once enjoyed, which God in mercy grant; that I may have the happiness to attend your lordship, solely to give you account how I have passed my time in these sad seasons, and to tell that there is nothing in my power that is not your lordship's to dispose of, in that I am not only a debtor to your lordship for your care to be helpful to me, but to your thrice-honoured son, for his ready acceptation of my submission, and favourable care I should receive no wrong while he stayed in these parts; and (as I have heard) his will taking what hath since been offered me: these are the cords that tie me to assure your lordship I shall ever be,

My Lord,

Your lordship's humble servant,

F. GORGES.*

Ashton, June 1st, 1646.

FOR THE LORD BELLASISE, PRESENT THESE.

YOUR letter I have received by Sir Dudley Wyatt, and I have often writ to you, but I fear you have not received them. Do not come over to me, for it is to no purpose, and you serve a good master, and you must not be absent; but follow your resolutions, I like them exceedingly. Preserve your life: you have bought your experience. I keep health, but no wealth, for I seldom hear from home; yet I will follow your advice, and remain here till I hear better times. Farewell, and write often to me, if you can send safely. F.

From Pickpans, beside Paris, at Dr. Kerton's.

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

We have next a batch of letters from Mr. Charles Fairfax, relating partly to public matters, but chiefly to some professional business in which he was engaged for the Ladies Cork and Pembroke; his daughter's marriage with Mr. Jennings; and various appointments he received through the favour of his brother. Roger Dodsworth, whose name occurs in the first letter, was the antiquary and author of the "Monasticon." To Sir Thomas Fairfax we are indebted for the preservation of Dodsworth's MSS. in the Bodleian Library.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HIS VERY GOOD LORD, THE LORD FAIRFAX, THESE PRESENT.

MY MOST HONOURABLE GOOD LORD,

YOU were pleased to deliver my letter to my Lady Pembroke. I am now to present my humble request to you to do the like to my lord, and to assure them both that it shall be my constant endeavour to improve my utmost ability to do them service. It is their pleasure to join Roger Dodsworth with me in the perusal and sorting their evidences in the castle, which I hope we shall do to my lady's contentment. You know his ability and approved experience in matters of antiquity, records, and evidences—the prime man of the kingdom in that course of practice—so that if my honourable lord and good lady be unprovided of a solicitor (as your lordship sees occasion) he may be recommended with credit and thanks: your lordship's continuance of your care and trouble in my behalf is humbly acknowledged as a very special favour.

If your Parliamentary employment be not inconsistent with your military, that noble gentleman may have it without any other intimation than that he will not reject the votes and affections of his country who most earnestly desire it, if no advantage may be taken upon the Self-denying Ordinance to oust him of his commands (a thing much feared) from two base sorts of people that have instigations from envy and hatred, which though they be clear contrary in their grounds the one to the other, yet, like Samson's foxes, they hang by the tails and easily agree in *aliquo tercio*.

The western gentleman he has been thoroughly sifted, and not to be suspected, nor need we fear any kind of competitor, nor indeed suspect that any one will appear. We should think it much happiness to see you in the county; your presence would much qualify the insufferable extravagances of the unruly soldiery. Very good orders are lately issued from the several committees, both of the war and joint Rydings. I have dispersed divers of them amongst your tenants in the Ainsty, who have deeply smarted, as likewise to others of them in other parts of the country.

My good lord, I am your honour's
In all duty and affection,
CHARLES FAIRFAX.

York, this 17th of January, 1645, [*N. S.* 1646].

Your lordship may please to know my Lady Pembroke's pleasure when Mr. Dodsworth and I shall repair to the castle, for there is no admittance to the evidences till there be a meeting of persons authorised by a joint assignation of both the ladies.

I beseech your lordship spare the imparting of this postscript, for I am now informed we may have the liberty, and perhaps this scruple may not be well taken.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX.

My very good Lord,

I have now received the grant from your lordship for the under-stewardship of Pontefract, for which I most humbly thank you; and the next week, when the sessions are ended, having already dispatched the leet at Skipton, I shall, God willing, attend those courts, and whatever be the profits, for of late years seventeen or eighteen copy-hold manors are infranchised; one only remaining, Tanshall, the least within all that honour. This only for your lordship's information, and not to undervalue the gift, for I prefer it before a place of more benefit, because I have your lordship my chief.

Having now returned my humble thanks, I am earnestly to implore your lordship's help to the country. I did formerly remonstrate the sad condition of the West Riding, the visitation having been for a long time together in fourscore towns within one, over or under. Wakefield and other places continue infected, and some parts of Leeds parish broken out again, besides divers other towns; and this summer, it is feared, will be exceedingly grievous. The Advice of the London Physicians, in a printed book, hath been of excellent use, but there not being any directions at all concerning cleansing, we are in a little time after in as ill a condition; for if we had any of skill to be got that will undertake it, as some there are, but their rates are so high and the country so poor, they are not able to pay them. Your lordship has the hearts and prayers of that people, and you have neither spared purse nor pains to do them good. Think not slightly, I beseech you, of this serious request. Be pleased my good lord, that divers of the physicians be consulted with for the

best and cheapest means for cleansing the houses, furniture, and stuff. Their results will be useful for the whole kingdom, and God knows how soon this overflowing scourge may pass further. Your lordship knows their trading consists much in wool, and therefore there would be particular directions how to use it in the fleece, yarn, cloth, &c.; how their utensils of wood—bedsticks, tables, stools, gists, &c.; how their metals, pots, pewter, leads, &c.; how their walls, floors, roofs, &c.; beds, linen, &c. It will be a most acceptable present to the country, and the sooner the better. Leeds desires a government, such as they had before these times of distraction, that they be not enforced to seek help at distance; and for obtaining their charter, are most humble suitors to your lordship and good Sir Thomas Widdrington.

For the free school at Ottley it seems by Mr. Fawkes, his inquiry, that for the forty mark rent reserved to the master and usher, (it is upon a lease for 1000 years of lands in Camoth, with clause of re-entry,) there is not above sixty acres of land, whereof twenty are barren; they lie in the North Riding, where the Scots have so disabled them that for two years' arrears not above twenty can be gotten; nor above that sum for the next year's rent both to the master and usher, the tenant discharging all lays and assessments. The school is repairing, and we will hope to have your lordship down before they make choice of a master.

And now, according to your commands, I shall give your lordship a short account of my service to my Lord and Lady Pembroke. For seven weeks' time I was never absent from Skipton, but only one night that I went to take view of my family. Such was the multiplicity of my troubles by country people in this want of justices that I had few hours my own; therefore a very ill servant, not worthy my

diet, though we had but one meal a day; yet what I could not do on the day I sometimes perfect out with the night. I stayed the longer in expectation of the commissioners; and when they come, if I be required, shall not be wanting with my best assistance; but I desire to know my work, and see my warrant. If the way be shown me, I shall like it the better, but upon such emergent occasions as necessarily require a present dispatch, I shall carefully observe my first commission, (their honour and profit). For the business of Carleton, that your lordship writes of, you may please to take this information; and it will not be amiss to make a digression. In the miserable want of a minister at Skipton, (Lord make us most sensible of our greatest wants), I had often intreated Mr. Price of Carleton (the best in those parts) to supply the cure. That lordship was my Lord George's, but within the award. I writ to my lady for a particular of such lands of the Lady Cork's as we must not meddle with, and for a copy of the award; and had this answer, that her ladyship never consented unto it, nor will be bound by it, but is now to demand her whole inheritance as rightful heir to her father, both by the laws of God and the kingdom. I thought this a sufficient warrant to restrain the workmen from felling more trees, having made great destruction, yet allowed them to take such small pieces as were in danger of stealing. This was justifiable if it had been her own; for my lord, her husband, being a delinquent, I (as one of the committee) had reason to do it for the benefit of the public, for I do not suppose that a composition for one year will enable a delinquent to destroy all his woods. And for an entry they do me injury to make me so busy; for without special order (where a little delay can bring no prejudice) I am exceeding tender of giving offence. For the other part

of my charge, the denial of an interview to any of her substitutes in perusal of the evidences, I confess it to be true till I have directions from my lady; nor can our sole intermedling be just cause of offence when she has had so free a liberty without any one in the world on my lady's part to see a fair carriage: our credits and reputations are as dear as theirs; and I neither have nor will do anything that I will not justify upon oath to be just and honest to the best of my knowledge.

I know not how Mr. Robert Christopher may represent my carriage; but if his relations to your lordship have the lenity of his intelligences to my Lady Cork, they will do me good that they make you merry. In one of his letters (which Mr. Thompson showed me) he wrote to this effect, that your lordship was to come down from London to sort evidences at Skipton Castle with Sir Thomas Strickland. And whereas he tells you that my Lady Pembroke is contented to stand to the award, it is clearly otherwise, as appears by her vehement protestations against it in very many letters to me; yet as a most noble lady, will she deal honourably with such persons whose estates depend upon it, if they have the good manners to acknowledge it her bounty. Your lordship must pardon me many faults, this tedious relation being one of the least.

Be pleased to remember me to all my good friends.

Your lordship's affectionate brother,

And most humble servant,

C. FAIRFAX.

Menston, this 8th of April, 1646.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HIS VERY GOOD LORD, THE LORD FAIRFAX, THESE PRESENT.

MY MOST HONOURABLE GOOD LORD,

THREE letters I have received from your lordship, by the three last posts, and for each of them return thrice humble thanks. Your lordship's seasonable advice concerning my carriage in this tickle employment is exceeding weighty. I cannot attain the happiness to be a repairer of the breach, yet hope it shall never be objected against me with any colour of truth, that I make any gap either to let in charge or debate betwixt any at all, much less between persons of honour and in so near relation. I have often begged of my Lady Pembroke to receive her commands concerning the trunk of Evidences, selected out of both studies, by the Lady Cork, with prelude of a peculiar interest, though upon the view I persuade myself there are many in which my lady is at least equally concerned, if not entirely. A letter, it seems, was sent to that purpose, (as is intimated unto me by the last from my lady), but it is not received, so that I want my instructions; yet my lady writes to the Countess of Cork, (which I am now to deliver), that she has written to me about it, and makes no doubt but I shall give her good satisfaction. Thus your lordship sees what great straits I am put to, and how it cannot be otherwise conceived than that I am the ill instrument of their unhappy differences betwixt the ladies. I should have writ to my Lady Pembroke by this post, but am here enforced to break off, or lose my opportunity, and with thanks do present myself

Your lordship's most humble servant,

C. FAIRFAX.

York, April 18th, 1646.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HIS VERY GOOD LORD, THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT HIS HOUSE, QUEEN STREET, WESTMINSTER, PRESENT.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

I DID, in a late letter to my sister Constable, acquaint her with an overture of marriage from Mr. Peter Jennings, in behalf of his grandchild with my daughter Nell. What was then mere doubtful in the reality of his intentions, (I only taking my intelligence from others), is now well and fully cleared by his own expressions, that the want of portion must make no breach. He is very shortly for London, to pay in his compensation, being one of the most innocent delinquents in all the country, for that little he did for the enemy's party was extorted from him by threats and imprisonment, the best part of his estate laid under the power of that garrison of Skippon, and himself likewise in near a tie to the late Earl of Cumberland. I shall humbly beg from your lordship your fair respects towards him if he come to attend you, and your acknowledgment of her in so near a relation. Your lordship's bounty to divers of her brothers will clear the suspicion of any design upon you, for all that is expected is that which is left her, secured out of Menston; for the interest whereof I shall give her security, if it be required, until the sum be payable, being Michaelmas three years. The lands engaged are better worth than forty merks per annum. So I fear no danger of any failure of payment. The young gentleman has a good report, and a general testimony to be of a sweet disposition. A Cambridge man of about nineteen years of age, that never contributed any fuel to these flaws. I cannot but acknowledge a good providence in it, that it should seem of their seeking; for being so far

above my hopes in respect of the state, I should never have attempted it. The sum is now upon composition: his only offence was acting as a sub-committee in the Lord Newcastle's time for regulating of assessments and allowing of billet for the ease of the country. His father paid 900*l.*, and I fear they will have 100*l.* from him for his wife's land, being 40*l.* per annum. A good word from your lordship may very much avail him.

My brother Wentworth is very diligent in his business, to speed his work, but fears the danger of the last ordinance, that requires it before August; demands your lordship's help that he be at no prejudice. For your lordship's many remembrances in Mr. Clapham's letters, accept the humble thanks of

Your lordship's humble servant,

C. FAIRFAX.

York, July 24th, 1646.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HIS VERY GOOD LORD, THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT HIS HOUSE IN QUEEN STREET, WESTMINSTER, THESE PRESENT.

MY MOST HONOURED GOOD LORD,

OF all the infirmities your lordship knows by me, that of unthankfulness is without my charge. Every letter your lordship either writes to myself or friends in these parts gives me new occasion to tell your lordship I want words to express, no heart to resent your favours. You are a father indeed, and that is nature which will do much in this work, but it has a transcendancy and elevation above such a meridian. Mr. Jennings with his grandchild are now shortly for their journey. If at the report upon return of his moneys

(being a very great sum for so small a delinquency as can be objected against him), there may be any return of some part of his composition, or any ease in his son's, being only a regulator of assessments in my Lord of Newcastle's time, I should cast this into the deck as a favour to myself, being in this treaty, the reality whereof I cannot suspect. I humbly thank your lordship for your last bounty to Tom, which the next day I received I returned unto him by the help of Mr. Farrand. I beseech your lordship's excuse the post-haste of

Your most obliged brother and servant,

C. FAIRFAX.

14*th August*, 1646.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HIS VERY GOOD LORD, THE LORD FAIRFAX.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

I HUMBLY thank your lordship for the good advice and countenance in this great business that concerns my daughter. Delays are dangerous; I could wish it were hastened with most conveniency. The grandfather is aged and very infirm. Of his reality I am most of all confident. His other friends here are far more dilatory, which occasions some jealousy. Your lordship has both a great deal of affection and wisdom to carry on the work; and to God's blessing and the marriage of such worthy good friends, I humbly recommend the increase and issue, as He in mercy shall dispose it. I have to beg your lordship's directions to Mr. Price, minister at Carleton in Craven, how he may steer his course for reparation of his losses and augmentation of means. A constant preacher and affectionate to the Parliament, which occasions his sufferings from the garrison of

Skipton, of which, if your lordship had time, he could make a woful relation. My good lord, I am in all relations and obligations, your lordship's

Most affectionate and most humble servant,

C. FAIRFAX.

York, this 29th August, 1646.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HIS VERY GOOD LORD, THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT HIS HOUSE IN QUEEN STREET, PRESENT.

MY MOST HONOURABLE GOOD LORD,

I PRESENT my humble thanks to your lordship for my children and the addition to my livelihood in the late stewardships you are pleased to confer upon me, viz. Rippon, Cawood, and Ottley; some claims there are to both the former (by the committee's order, which was but *pro tempore*), to which your lordship's letter will be fully satisfactory. This inclosed I received from Sir Robert Barwick, who is much displeased that he should be outed of the stewardship of St. Mary's. Your lordship had no notice how he was interested, so that your recommendation of the other gentleman cannot be ill taken. I shall desire nothing in his behalf which your lordship shall not think fitting, but could earnestly wish that some intimation were given him that your lordship knew not that he did execute the place.

I have not heard from Mr. Jennings since his return into the country, but hear he will shortly make a journey into Craven, where I think I shall see him, and observe your commands. And for all your affectionate endeavours to do

us good, I shall, as most really engaged, most cheerfully subscribe myself,

My lord,

Your honour's most faithful servant,

C. FAIRFAX.

Menston, 10th October, 1646.

I beseech your lordship that my best services may be presented to all my good friends.

TO MY ASSURED FRIEND, MR. CHARLES FAIRFAX, AT HIS HOUSE AT MENSTON IN YORKSHIRE, THIS.

SIR,

THIS day I received your letter of the 29th of the last month, wherein you tell me that Mr. Waterton hath at length finished the drawings of the landscapes of Shipton Castle and of Bardon Tower; but I have not received either of those landscapes, in which I pray you earnestly to take some care in searching diligently what is become of them, that so I may have them safely delivered to me, which, when it is done, I will send the gentleman (Mr. Waterton) whatsoever you shall think fit, and I pray you in your next letter write me word what you think is fit for me to send him. I will do my good will to your eldest daughter might do her any good, or to any of your other children, for I acknowledge myself much obliged to you; which I will study to requite; and so I rest,

Your assured true friend,

ANNE PEMBROKE.

Bau Castle, November 3rd, 1646.

Mr. Benjamin Kane came hither to me and Isabella,* the 26th day of the last month, but brought no money out of Carnan to us, as I imagine you know before-hand. When I had nearly done writing of this letter, so far as this, did I now receive the survey of Shipton and Bardon Tower, for which I pray you give Mr. Waterton what you think fit, and write me word what you have given him, and I will send it you again.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HIS VERY GOOD LORD, THE LORD FAIRFAX, IN KING STREET, COVENT GARDEN, PRESENT.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

IN this general letter now directed to your lordship from the joint committee, some (upon pretence that it would be a trouble to your lordship) pitched upon another, but being ill taken by others that any should be thought more concerned in receiving our addresses, (for recommendation to the Parliament than yourself, in whom the country has a special interest by their own elections), it was thereupon voted to sue to your lordship, and we doubt not to hear from you as effectually as from those that would ingratiate themselves with the county for such good offices. I humbly thank your lordship for the stewardship of the courts at Ripon, and do wonder that Mr. Armitage should conceive it a disparagement to be ousted when he was only put in *pro tempore* by the committee, there being then no High Steward, who, every man knows, must appoint his Substitute. There are three several officers; the first is *Senescallus Domini*, which is your lordship—this, by patent, was granted by Law, Archbishop of York, unto Richard Duke of

* Lady Isabella Sackville, her daughter, by the Earl of Dorset.

Gloucester, (together with bow-bearership), for life, anno 1411. The next is *Subsenescallus, sive Senesse Curiar.*, which I now hold by your lordship's gift; and the last is *Clericus Curie*, always a servant to the substeward, but never any office; and hence ariseth all the benefit, and a great benefit it was to Mr. Winill that last had it.

I beseech your lordship be pleased as *Custos Rotulorum* of the West-riding to regulate the fees both for Clerk of the Peace and Justices' Clerk, which are shamefully extravagant; it will be very much for your lordship's honour, and a most acceptable service to all the country that groan under oppressions, and a rule must help us. God reward your love both to me and mine. I am,

My lord,

Your honour's most humble servant,

C. FAIRFAX.

York, November 13th, 1646.

I desire to know of your lordship whether it will not be an offence if Mr. Jennings (who was an easy delinquent, but has now compounded,) do sometimes supply my place at Ripon, if all things go well in the other motion, as I still hope they will.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HIS VERY GOOD LORD THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT HIS HOUSE IN COVENT GARDEN, PRESENT.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

YOUR lordship's suspicion of the young man's affections, I fear has its ground; for it is supposed he may have some thoughts towards Sir Thomas Harrison's daughter. She wants no solicitors to further the motion, if it be so; but jealousy is an unequal judge, and I hope better: a little time

will now discover it. I am very confident it is without the grandfather's privity, for he is unquestionably real and forward for his marriage. I was bold to draw on the father, to make a promise of the clerkship of the courts at Ripon, (your lordship's good gift,) and if it take effect, shall beg your confirmation of it to the grandchild, reserving to myself the attendants and service, which, if I had hopes of a longer life (there being now small cause to expect it in regard of growing infirmities), I should think happily bestowed upon so good an occasion. My wife and I present our humble thanks for your great charge with Tom, and your noble intentions for Will's preferment signified unto us by your lordship's last letter. She humbly resigns to your lordship's good pleasure her dearest darling. I know, my lord, you are not unmindful of our poor church of Ottley, to procure a certain endowment to it, as likewise to Denton and Baildon parochial chaptries. This day died Mr. Procter; and Nicholas Lindley about a fortnight ago. I wish your lordship would think of the seigniority of Ottley, lest some (least suspected) prove too unable in the business. My humble service to your good lady from your lordship's servant,

C. Fairfax.

Menston, December 16th, 1646.

Sir Thomas Fairfax was not permitted to enjoy much repose at Bath. Ragland Castle, in South Wales, still held out; and the old Marquis of Worcester, whose house it was, and who had expended in the Royal cause the prodigious sum of 20,000*l.*, which he feared he should never get back again, was reluctant to give up his "poor cottage," without having some previous com-

munication with his master, the fugitive King. His 20,000*l.* troubled him much; and as Colonel Morgan, who was conducting the siege, found it impossible to reason with him, and was really unwilling to ruin him, Sir Thomas Fairfax went down in person to bring the affair to a conclusion.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, IN QUEEN STREET, LONDON.

My Lord,

I was sorry I could not more fully understand your lordship's mind, by the messenger you had committed it to; for I should be exceeding glad to receive often such light and help as I might have from your lordship in this troublesome condition I am in; but I trust the Lord will make it some ways comfortable to me, if I have no end to myself in it; nor do I see yet the army hath any, but principally seeks to do that which is for the honour of God, and the good of the kingdom. I am now before Ragland. It is very strong, well manned, and victualled. I took advantage of their inclination to treat. I have offered the soldiers honourable conditions, and that the Earl should remain quiet in his house till the Parliament be pleased to dispose otherwise of him. I durst not offer anything more to one that is so obnoxious to them; but I doubt if there be nothing more done for him, we shall expect little good from this way; and the country is very fearful of a long siege; earnestly desiring the Earl might have leave to go beyond sea, so they might be freed of this garrison. And if the Parliament would consider what it is to engage so much of their army here, and how

disaffected these parts are, so long as this place is untaken, they would find it not only to be a singular benefit for Wales, but much good to the affairs of the whole kingdom. Though they gave something that might encourage my lord of Worcester to surrender, I could not be satisfied till I had discharged my thought, though I cannot act in that way which I think will be a more considerable good for the public affairs. After I have settled some things here, I intend (God willing) to return again to Bath, having found already some good by it. I shall trouble your lordship no more now, but remain

Your lordship's most obedient son,

T. FAIRFAX.

Ragland, August 10th, 1646.

In a week from the date of this letter, Fairfax entered the castle, which the poor old Marquis was at last induced to surrender, dined with the Committee at Chepstow, and returned to his quiet quarters at Bath.

With the exception of a few places in the North, which were yet in the possession of the Scotch, the whole country was now in the hands of Parliament.

Early in September, Fairfax returned to the army, in the neighbourhood of Oxford.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I AM returned from Bath, I hope with some benefit. I thought it would be more fit for me to return to my quarters near Oxford, than to come yet to London. I hope we shall now settle the army so as there shall be fewer

complaints. I hear very little of the foot; the horse hath been less payed, but no less restrained from injuries; I shall desire to prevent them all I can. Rushworth will acquaint your lordship with our condition here, so as I shall not trouble your lordship further. I have sent Sharp to take an account of such things as are in the house in Queen Street. My wife doth intend to be there the next week herself. I shall desire your lordship to make use still of that house, if you think fit; so humbly desiring your lordship's blessing, I remain,

Your lordship most obedient son,

THOMAS FAIRFAX.

Forest Hill, 17th September, 1646.

The following letter from Mr. Charles Fairfax, refers to a contested election which had just terminated between Mr. David Copley and Mr. White, for Pontefract. Mr. White was nominated upon the interest of Sir Thomas Fairfax, who shows himself a practical reformer in the matter of purity of election.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HIS VERY GOOD LORD, THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT HIS HOUSE IN QUEEN STREET, WESTMINSTER.

MY MOST HONOURED GOOD LORD,

IN this business of election we found on Mr. Lionel Copley's part very much of the lion's skin, but more of the fox's tail; he has not been wanting in a bountiful entertainment, in courting the burgers both with wine and venison; by himself and his agents giving all assurance of a real

accomplishment of what they desired; possessing them all in his wonted confidence, that no man living was better acquainted with the mysteries of Parliament than he himself, that would be their incessant solicitor. We came upon a disadvantage which wanted no pressing by him and his coadjutors, which could not be so ill on Mr. White's part as they did vehemently enforce it, and most of the townsmen, too apt to believe it, but his letters of excuse and future diligence will repair that error, which some peevishly affected would have to reflect upon your lordship, who recommended him. Indeed I am confident they made it much worse to gain a party; I am very glad this was no cause of offence on my nephew's part, who carried on the business in a discreet moderation, without threat or promise, or any entertainment until the election was past, and then he spared no cost, nor wanted other expressions to give a real testimony of his utmost desires to do them service. Colonel Overton has wanted neither affection nor wisdom, nor given any occasion whereat they can quarrel. He that so cavilled at my nephew Fairfax, his letters procured another in his own behalf from General Poyntz, to the mayor and burgers, which he only caused to be read, but not delivered, suspecting the effect and the governor's diligence; he seconds this project, and a message is sent from the general to Colonel Overton, to come instantly to York, but he deferred it. I shall not trouble your lordship with any other particulars in this business, only must present my most humble thanks to your good lordship for the variety of your favours to my children, and to

Your lordship's most humble servant,

C. FAIRFAX.

25th of September, 1646.

A "piping time of peace," brief and uneasy, but the more eagerly embraced, perhaps, for that very reason, had now set in everywhere; and in this interval, snatching what contentment he might out of such circumstances, Lord Fairfax takes a second wife to manage his house and mend his estate. His lordship announces the happy event in a letter to his brother, the retired clergyman, at Bolton Percy; which is followed by a letter of congratulation from his brother, the antiquary.

FOR MR. HENRY FAIRFAX, AT BOLTON.

Good Brother,

I suppose before this the news of my marriage will be come into the country, and variously reported, according to the intelligence of the messenger, or his affection to me. My solitary condition and want of help in managing household affairs (which I am forced unto), made me think of a gentlewoman for assistance and comfort. Her virtue was the chief thing drew my affections, which was much commended by the parents and friends of her former husband. She was the widow of Mr. Hussey, in Lincolnshire; daughter of Mr. Chapman, of Hertfordshire, whose father was a citizen. She has five children, but provided for in such manner as I hope will not be burthensome, and her estate (though not great) may be sufficient, by God's blessing, in part to supply the defects of my own towards our maintenance, for I found small these four years from my tenants in any place. I heartily wish I could have had the advice of

children, brothers, and near friends, but I hope the course I have taken will not be prejudicial to any, nor cause of offence. My journey into the country is like to be stayed till the next spring. I pray you remember my service to my sister. I rest

Your very affectionate brother,

FER. FAIRFAX.

October 20th, 1646.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HIS VERY GOOD LORD, THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT HIS HOUSE IN QUEEN STREET, PRESENT THESE.

MY GOOD LORD,

I SHOULD be loth to be the last (since it is not with the least affection) to congratulate your happy choice, and hope that you may not only build your house (now reduced in your male line to a narrow compass), but (that I may wish great things for you) let them equal your other children, the ornaments not only of their family, but of eminent esteem in the eye of the kingdom. It is the prayer of God's people, that that line may long flourish a living monument to future posterity, polished stones in God's building, as a remembrance of those that have done worthily in our Ephratha,—the repairers of our breaches,—choice instruments in the work of that Temple whose builder and maker is God. Let not that coal be quenched, and not only a remainder, (which you have indeed, to the envy and admiration of other families), but a name be left unto you upon the earth.

Having given your lordship a view of my heart in your business, I now come to my own. Mr. Jennings, by a visit yesterday, prevented my journey to Skipton on Monday,

designed for a meeting. The man is real, and most cordial in the prosecution, but a sudden conclusion was not to be expected, before a thorough acquaintance; and some here in the country were to be satisfied upon the grandfather's view and report, before the young gentleman should too far engage his affections. He has now directions to renew his suit. I beseech your lordship he may have all encouragements, and that his peremptory expressions (when pressed on a sudden to a positive answer) may give no disgust.

I desire that mine and my wife's most humble services may be presented to your honourable lady. If your lordship please that some of your servants may acquaint Mr. Armitage (being now in town) that it is your honour's pleasure to confer the Stewardship of Ripon upon me, upon his discharge (being only in *pro tempore* upon the committee's order), I shall then attend it: and the like for Mr. Hewley, who by a like order is placed at Cawood. Indeed I find by my attendance at Ottley, that there have been insufferable inconveniences by the former stewards that have taken presentments of *omnia bene*, and they now expect the like usage, which Justices of the Peace, having the engagement of an oath, cannot allow them. I beseech your lordship that Thomas Barker, who has from your honour the grant of under-stewardship, may be required to put in a sufficient substitute, that since he has all the benefit, he may ease me of a good part of the trouble.

My lord,

I am ever your lordship's faithful servant,

C. FAIRFAX.

October 27th, 1646.

A letter from Alderman Atkins, who represented Norwich in Parliament, and who, as he plainly tells his

constituents, was thereby incapacitated from accepting any place of emolument, shows what sort of relations, in some instances, subsisted between electors and their representatives. The ordinance for the sale of Bishops' lands, referred to by Mr. Atkins, passed on 16th November.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL HENRY WATTS, ESQ., MAYOR OF NORWICH.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL,

MY due respect remembered unto you, and all your brethren. This is to certify you, that now the ordinance is passed for the sale of the Bishops' lands, which I send hereinclosed; those that will secure their money, lent formerly upon the propositions, began to pay in their money last Friday morn, and before Saturday night above 40,000*l.* was paid in. So that if yourself or any else will do the same, it will be time to do it; for the House was moved, last Friday, to order, that if any other men that had paid in no money upon the propositions did bring in any sum, it should be received, which the treasurers had no power to do before; for one brought in 1000*l.* more than his money was, to equal his former lent money, and it would not be received; but now it is consented unto, and money is paid in accordingly. I paid in mine last Friday, being 658*l.* 8*s.* 2*d.*; and I have a note for so much more, to have the use at five months, and use and principal in course out of Excise Office, if it be not paid me before, out of money received upon sale of Bishops' lands. I write you this much in regard you may now secure that which, three months since, was thought desperate. I thought it my duty to let you know what is

here done upon that business. The Eastern Association Committee have sat but once since your aldermen were here, and then I did move for an order to have your pieces delivered back wherever they were found. It held some debate, but the result was, that unless it could be set down where they were it could not be done at present; for if any be in any garrison yet maintained, not thought fit to remove them, till the kingdom be better settled; besides, the season of year is not to remove them. If you write where the two small pieces are, I shall get an order for them. No opportunity yet to move for the union of the parishes, in the House. I doubt not but they will confirm it as you desire. I will not be forgetful of it.

On the 19th day of this month, was a year, since I sat in the Parliament upon your election, being thereby, you see, made incapable of any place of benefit, as you see, still cast upon such as are no members of the House of Commons; and now, in this inclosed ordinance upon several of my fellow-aldermen and other citizens to their profit; and were I at liberty, I doubt not but I had been partakers with them. I am by your means taken off all business. I know the burthen, and therefore I did labour against it; but it pleased God so to dispose of me. I do therefore expect from you such allowance as my predecessors have had. I shall strive to deserve it, in my care and diligence. Our city burgesses here are paid quarterly; and so, not doubting of your performance, I take leave, and rest,

Your Worship's to command,

THOMAS ATKIN.*

Laus Deo. London, Nov. 23rd, 1646.

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

Norwich appears to have been hard pressed for money. The mayor of Lynn writes urgently to his "loving friend" the mayor of Norwich for a subsidy of 400*l.* A long time elapsed before these pecuniary burthens were finally adjusted over the kingdom.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL AND HIS LOVING FRIEND, MR. MAYOR OF NORWICH, THESE PRESENT.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL SIR,

THE miserable condition that this poor town is in, I suppose is not unknown to you. Where soldiers are, and no money to pay them, the cry of the inhabitants there must needs be great. So is it here at present with us. Mr. Corbett informed me, a month since, that our treasurers, Alderman Robinson and Alderman Wormell, should have from your city of Norwich 400*l.* forthwith; our cries are here so great, for the want of it; and having this conveyance by Mr. Hullior and others, I entreat that you will be pleased to send to our treasurers the said sum of 400*l.* by this bearer, Mr. Hullior, by whom our treasurers have sent a receipt for the same. Thus, with my kind respects, I rest

Your loving friend and servant,

THOMAS TOLL,
*Mayor.**

Lynn, December 1st, 1646.

Sir Thomas Fairfax, having completed his round of conquests, arrived in London on the 12th of November.

* From Mr. Bentley's Collection.

He was met some miles outside the city by the militia, who escorted him to his house, where he was waited upon by deputations from both Houses of Parliament, and received at their hands the thanks and congratulations of the nation.

The sale of the Bishops' lands proceeded rapidly, and the sum of 200,000*l.* having been realised towards the close of November, it was forwarded under convoy to York, to be paid over to the Scots, who were thereupon to evacuate the garrisons they held in the North. The war was now ended—if appearances and promises were to be trusted; and Sir Thomas Fairfax, having a little leisure to look into his private affairs, found himself in the situation of a man, who, in devoting himself to the business of the public, has wholly neglected his own.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY HONOURED FATHER, THE LORD FAIRFAX.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I THOUGHT it fit to discharge this duty of writing to your lordship, though I have little from hence to advertise you of. By this time the convoy is at York. I sent with it three regiments of horse, three regiments of foot, and 500 dragoons. This number, I hope, will prevent jealousies, and yet be sufficient to secure their charge. 12,000*l.* is sent down with these, that they might discharge their quarters. I have not now much business here; yet I conceive it fit to be with the army till the Scots be marched out of the kingdom, or on their march. I hear my wife intends to come to

Northampton. I know not whether I should advise her to stay, or not; but if she come, her own trouble will be more than any inconvenience by the journey. Though now it hath pleased God, in some good measure, to settle the general affairs of the kingdom, I should be glad to settle mine own in some more certainty, till I see how it may please God further to dispose of me; but I must confess that neither myself nor any with me can advise me what is the best course to take in this thing, the public business having wholly taken up my thoughts, making me a stranger to my own business, and that, I most fear, to my nearest and dearest friends. I hope the Lord will direct me what to do, or willingly to obey whatsoever your lordship shall advise or command me, who am

Your lordship's most obedient son,

T. FAIRFAX.

Northampton, Dec. 30th, 1646.

I humbly present my service to my lady.

By the close of the year, the negociations concerning the disposal of his Majesty's person were brought to a conclusion. The King was obstinate to the last about the Covenant, and the Scots, having received their 200,000*l.*, resolved to give him up to the Parliament.

1647.

THE KING CONDUCTED UNDER ESCORT TO HOLMBY.

GRIEVANCES OF THE ARMY.

THE KING IS CARRIED OFF BY CORNET JOYCE.

TREATY BETWEEN THE ARMY AND THE PARLIAMENT.

RIOT OF THE APPRENTICES AND FLIGHT OF THE SPEAKERS.

FAIRFAX RE-ESTABLISHES THE PARLIAMENT IN WESTMINSTER.

THE KING ESCAPES FROM HAMPTON COURT.

THE ROYAL FUGITIVE A PRISONER AT CARISBROOK CASTLE.

1647.

THE commissioners appointed by Parliament to conduct his Majesty to his destination at Holmby arrived in Newcastle on the 23rd January, and the escort set out on the 3rd February. Fairfax had left London about the middle of December, to join the army at Nottingham; and Skippon, who, on Fairfax's recommendation, had been appointed Governor of Newcastle, was already in the North, taking possession as the Scots retired. On the 11th February, the royal cortège approached Nottingham, and Fairfax went out to meet the King. It was the first time they had looked into each other's face since the meeting at Heyworth Moor, when "fiery Tom" forced the petition of the people upon the pommel of his Majesty's saddle. Had his Majesty hearkened to that petition, this strange scene had been spared to both. A strange scene it was, after all that had passed between them in the interval: the lives that had been sacrificed, the deadly hostility and disorganisation into which the whole kingdom had been plunged. And here they met on the high road, his Majesty graciously reining up his horse, and Fairfax kissing hands, and riding by his Majesty's side into Nottingham!

A week afterwards he wrote to his father.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MY HONOURED FATHER, THE LORD FAIRFAX.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

HERE is now but little business in these parts to write of, nor much for me to do here yet: my being in the army hath been some ways necessary for the ordering of it, and keeping the officers here together; which else would have been more, from their charge, and which will yet occasion my longer stay in London till I can settle things, so as there may be constantly general officers enough in the head quarter, to order the affairs of the army. We hear it is not like to be of long continuance. I doubt many hath given such discouragement to the soldiers as they will be more willing to lay down their arms than engage themselves in any other service, unless they like their conditions they shall go upon. Rushworth will give your lordship further account of things this way. I shall add no more, but my prayers for your health, and my service to my lady. So take leave to rest

Your lordship's most obedient son,

T. FAIRFAX.

Nottingham, Feb. 18*th*, 1646. (*N. S.* 1647.)

The "discouragement" first showed itself amongst the citizens of London, who petitioned against being put to further expenses, and prayed vigorously that the army might be disbanded. The work was finished, and the army was to be got rid of at once. London had mounted to freedom, and was impatient to kick down the ladder! The question grew wider and took a graver

shape afterwards, drawing in men of all shades of opinion, and dividing the kingdom at last into Two great Parties. Parliament yielded a little at first, and ordered that the army should not take up quarters within twenty-five miles of London. The civil power affected a great fear of the military, to whom arrears of pay were still due, and even went so far as to accuse them of "designs." The unsettled state of things gave a sort of colouring to these charges, for the soldiers clamoured for their pay, and were not easily restrained from breaking the twenty-five miles circle. Soldiers were required for Ireland, and the army made conditions with Parliament that, at all events, their allowances should be secured to them. It was strange, as Fairfax observes in the next letter, that the army should make propositions to Parliament; but it was wiser to prevent mutinies than to suppress them.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP

To pardon my long silence, though I have heard often from your lordship. That which you desire concerning Colonel Overton, I shall be very ready to do what I can for him, and shall be very glad to bring so deserving a man into the army; but as affairs are at this present, I cannot do much. What our business hath been with the commissioners sent from Derby House, Rushworth will give your lordship a full account. Though it may seem strange the army doth

make propositions to the Parliament about conditions of going into Ireland, yet it did seem to us more honest, modestly to desire such things as might enable them to carry on that service than hereafter, when they repent of their forwardness to mutiny, and with more insolency demand the dues; but by this, I hope, the service more advanced than hindered. I have my health but ill this spring. I go, to-morrow, God willing, for a day or two to my Lady Vere's. The country here doth like very well of the army, and is very sorry that there should be any petition against them. I have given order to free Sir Roger North's house, though there was none quartered there when he complained; but there is good reason he should be free. I shall here take leave to refer your lordship to Rushworth, to know how they stand here. So, desiring your blessing, with my service to my lady, I remain

Your lordship's most obedient son,

T. FAIRFAX.

March 23rd, 1646. (*N. S.* 1647.)

I had sent the Barbary to Denton before this, but that some grease is fallen into one of his legs, which, I hope, in a few days he will be recovered of, and then he shall go.

The Colonel Overton alluded to in this letter, about whom Lord Fairfax interested himself, was a *protégé* of Cromwell's, who prevailed upon Sir Thomas to appoint him Governor of Hull. He afterwards went with Cromwell into Scotland, and was steadfast to his patron till the Protectorate, when Cromwell, finding his republicanism inconvenient, dismissed him from his service, and committed him to the Tower.

The army grievance was want of money. It breaks out every where. Want of confidence was bad enough, after the hard service they had gone through, but want of money was worse for the time being. Similar difficulties arose about the composition of tithes, and the payment of ministers. In short, this money difficulty furnished the first pretext for the breaking out of discontents that lay deeper, and were fraught with graver consequences. Goldsmiths' Hall was the centre of the agitation. The disbanding of the army, the struggle between the Presbyterians and the Independents, and the wearisome negociations with the King, occupy a troublesome interval. All the letters of this period point to these prominent questions, throwing such accidental light upon them as the positions of the writers enabled them to collect.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, AT HIS HOUSE IN KING STREET, COVENT GARDEN, THESE PRESENT.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I HAVE little to trouble your lordship withal at this time. The soldiers in divers parts in this county begin to complain most of want of moneys; those at Skipton Castle have been in a mutiny, imprisoned two sequestrators, and threatened to seize upon the goods and furniture of the Castle; but upon the payment of some money, and a letter to the governor there from the committee of the West Riding,

I hope that disorder is appeased. Mr. Hulburne hath showed me the new dedimus for Ousten, which he will take care to get executed. Sir George Wentworth and his son were both here the last week, and had a meeting with Sir William St. Quinton about the portion. The most he will condescend to pay is 1000*l.*, for the marriage being past, he hath the law and measure of the portion in his own hands, and the treaty for it now is not upon even grounds. I am sorry the son's act should be so prejudicial both to his father and himself. I purpose, God willing, to begin my journey upon Monday and Tuesday next, and humbly present my duty to your lordship and my lady, and remain,

My lord,
Your lordship's humble servant,
TH. WIDDRINGTON.

York, the 16th of April, 1647.

The want of "preaching ministers," or rather, of the means of paying them, is strenuously urged upon Lord Fairfax in the subjoined letter from Sir John Bourchier. Sequestrations, assessments, and compositions had absorbed all available funds, and thus the question of the maintenance of religion came to be mixed up at Goldsmiths' Hall with the question of—"What was to be done with the Army?" But it is with the army we are chiefly concerned. The religious element which was mixed up so largely in the struggle of parties at this period, hardly enters into the Fairfax Correspondence; Sir Thomas Fairfax having from the first disclaimed, in the name of the army, all intention of interfering with such matters.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, A MEMBER OF THE HONOURABLE THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, THESE PRESENT.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

YOU were pleased to procure an order from the committee of plundered ministers, that 40*l.* per annum might be paid unto Mr. Taylor, minister, for to officiate at the church of Usbaldwick, on maintenance of the impropriate tithes of Sir William Robinson; but now Sir William Robinson hath compounded at Goldsmiths' Hall, and therefore that salary will be taken away, except your lordship shall make some speedy means to the committee of Goldsmiths' Hall, that Sir William Robinson may have so much abated, proportionably as that 40*l.* per annum is worth in his last payment. My humble suit is that you will seriously take into consideration your great want of maintenance for preaching ministers in this your blind country, and that what is already granted may be continued, that no delinquent may be suffered to make any composition for fixed tithes; and that also there may be some other way to raise provision for the cheerful subsistence of the ministry. It hath pleased God to make you instrumental to help, quiet, and subdue our enemies and God's: let me beseech you to stretch out the utmost of your power, that the gospel may flourish in these parts. There are many that have private aims in their public employment; but I must justify you and your ever-honoured son, that I never observed any of selfishness in you. I am confident God hath in store many blessings for you both. Oh, both join together in advancing this good work, in procuring maintenance for a learned and conscionable ministry. My

lord, I am bold to be importunate in this kind for an ignorant and sottish people; you are our sole knight of the shire; be active in yours, and you will conclude your latter days with much honour. I see many strive to advance themselves in their own ill days, but few will be seen to procure honest ministers, to be planted in your country: you have had your licence to promote this honourable work, I pray perfect it, which shall be the constant and fervent prayer of,

My lord,

Your humblest servant,

Jo. Bourchier.

York, this 16th April, 1647.

The army presented a petition to the House of Commons, asking for their arrears, and praying an indemnity for such actions as, illegal in time of peace, were unavoidable in the exigency of war, and for which some of the soldiers had been prosecuted at the assizes. This petition was very reasonable, but it gave great offence; upon which a second petition, signed by the officers under Fairfax's command, was sent into the Commons for the purpose of explaining away all grounds of misconception, and vindicating themselves from the imputation of defection or insubordination. A remarkable passage in this petition will show with how clear a sense of their rights, and with what admirable temper, under great wrongs and sufferings, the army sustained themselves through this trying crisis.

For our liberty of petitioning, we hope this honourable House will never deny it unto us; we know not anything

more essential to freedom, without grievances are remediless, and our condition most miserable. We have not denied it to your adversaries; you justified and commended it in your declaration of the 2nd Nov., 1642, in these words :—"It is the liberty and privilege of the people to petition unto us for the ease and redress of their grievances and oppressions, and we are bound in duty to receive their petitions." And we hope, *by being soldiers we have not lost the capacity of subjects, nor divested ourselves thereby of our interest in the Commonwealth; that in purchasing the freedoms of our brethren, we have not lost our own.*

Such was the spirit which the Commons themselves had generated. It was as ungenerous as it was unjust to rebuke its manifestation in any quarter, but especially in that body to whose fidelity, patience, and fortitude, the assertion and establishment of the liberties of the country were to be mainly ascribed. The wrong was rendered doubly galling by the recollection of the frank reception which had been given to sundry petitions from Essex and other officers of the old army, who had the satisfaction of obtaining immediate hearing even for their personal disputes. The New Model, conscious of its higher claims on the confidence and protection of Parliament, was consequently the more irritated by the jealousy and distrust with which this, its first petition, was treated. The following letters, from Sir Thomas Widdrington and Colonel White, indicate the feelings of the House on this matter, and contain references, also, to the progress of the war in Ireland :—

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT HIS HOUSE, AT DENTON, THESE PRESENT.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I RECEIVED yours of the 14th instant; Mr. Anson was with me at the time when I received it, and assures me that Sir Edward Hussey hath made a bargain for his land, and is shortly to receive his money, and he further promised to let Colonel White or myself know a day or two before the moneys be paid into Goldsmiths' Hall; to the intent that Colonel White may be there ready to demand them. I hear the Castle of Dungarvan is taken by the Lord Inchiquin. I hear the House of Commons hath voted this afternoon that the train and ammunition at Oxford, be presently disposed of for Ireland, and that the general officers which went down to the army shall all return hither, except Major Gen. Skippon, who is to stay there: I know nor hear of any more done this afternoon, being absent. I waited upon the General this day, who is in a better condition of health than when you left him; and I hope will continue so if the matters of the army have not too much influence upon his spirits. The weather in this place continues as yet extreme moist. I wish you may enjoy quietness at Denton. I find not much of it here. There was this day a letter from the General Officers of the army, and a paper of the complaints of the army presented to the House; I cannot tell you the particulars. The aforementioned votes show how they were resented. I desire by this to present my duty to your lordship and my lady, and take leave to remain,

My lord, your lordship's humble servant,

TH. WIDDRINGTON.

Gray's Inn, the 13th of May, 1647.

I am troubled with a cold in my head, which operates upon my tooth and one of my eyes, and renders me unfit for writing; otherwise, I should have written by this post to my uncle Charles and my brother Arthington, and I shall be glad to serve Colonel Thornton, in the thing he desires, so far as shall fall within my power. The General is ordered by the House to go down to the army, which I hear is very quiet.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO, LORD FAIRFAX, THESE.

My noble Lord,

By your lordship's received the last night, I perceive that your lordship may receive letters and return answer by the same post, of which I am very glad.

This day Sir Richard Lucy telleth me that Mr. Spencer Lucy is come to town, and will some day this week pay his money. There is no news of Sir John Mounson yet at Goldsmiths' Hall, and I hear he is town; therefore, I desire your lordship's further direction, whether I shall not procure an order for the sequestration to be laid again upon his estate. In case of nonpayment speedily I do intend to send one of Goldsmiths' Hall messengers unto him to quicken him in the meantime. This day, by letters from my Lord Inchiquin, he informs the House, that he hath taken the town and Castle of Dungarvan, with two other castles from the rebels; that he is absolute master of the field in Munster; that the rebels generally want ammunition and money, by reason whereof they are not able to take the field with any considerable force; that they are not anywhere above 1500 men in one body, and that they are so

divided amongst themselves that they are not likely to do much hurt.

This day also came a letter from Major General Skippon, Lieutenant General Cromwell, and the rest sent into the army, that they had received the resolutions of the army to the propositions delivered by them from the Parliament, but thought not fit to send them but by some of themselves, which might withall declare some material circumstances; they or some of them are speedily to be here. I hope the army will prove obedient, as well as successful.

I hear they meddle not with anything but what concerns them as soldiers.

There are divers gentlemen in the House (whom your lordship may imagine), who are very desirous to have the army speedily disbanded, and upon a long debate this day it was resolved, that it be referred to the committee at Derby House, to consider of the time and manner of speedy disbanding all such forces as are not voted to be continued for service of this kingdom, or shall not engage for Ireland.

This evening we had read in the House a paper from the King, in answer to the propositions sent to him at Newcastle, but gave little satisfaction. It came down in a message from the Lords, and it being six of the clock, the House ordered to take the message into consideration upon Thursday next.

For further relation of the proceedings, I shall refer your lordship to the Diurnal, and humbly presenting my own and my wife's most humble service to your lordship and your noble lady, take leave to remain,

My lord, your lordship's most humble servant,

WILL. WHITE.

London, May 16th, 1647.

The 200,000*l.* will all be ready before Thursday night next.

On the 18th May, it was resolved by the House that, with the exception of certain garrisons, all the forces of the kingdom not subscribing for the service of Ireland (some of them having explicitly declined to do so until their arrears were discharged) should be disbanded, and that the General should forthwith repair to the army. The situation of Sir Thomas Fairfax, throughout these harassing discussions, was, in the last degree, painful and anxious. Even patient Rushworth declares, that were he General, he would not hold his command an hour longer.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, AT DENTON, YORKSHIRE, THESE PRESENT.

My Lord,

I must crave your pardon for my brevity. I hope Mr. Bowles will enlarge. Things are mighty uncertain, rather tending to a confusion than composing of differences. The General is commanded down to the army: one saying in the House he had time enough to go to Hyde Park, but not to attend his duty,—speaking it with much scorn. Truly, my lord, it is resolved upon the question that nothing but exasperation and provocation shall be used to enforce the army to disorder. And then the Presbyterians say they are necessitated to join with the King; and in order to this design, the King hath sent up to the Parliament his answer to the proposition to settle Presbytery for three years, the militia for ten years, and such like. A committee is appointed to consider of the King's answer. It is well for your lordship

to be absent; for it is in vain to be here. And were it not for the good of the kingdom, were I as the General, I would scorn to hold my command an hour longer; but truly his patience is great; and he wishes he had a fair opportunity to give over.

JNO. RUSHWORTH.

May 18th, 1647.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT DENTON, IN YORKSHIRE.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I SHALL not say much of the business of this day, because I hope Rushworth hath given your lordship a full account of it. Nothing will be acceptable that comes from the army, but all things are hastened for a speedy disbanding of it. And I am ordered by the House forthwith to repair to the army, if my health will permit it. I think in a few days to go down to it (God willing). I still expect to have great difficulties put upon me; but I trust the Lord will bring me out of them. My health, God be thanked, is something better; but too soon relapses with a little trouble. I desire your lordship to pardon me for my shortness in writing, hoping you will have a fuller account otherway. So, desiring to present my service to my lady, and to have your prayers, I remain

Your lordship's most obedient son,

T. FAIRFAX.

London, May 18th, 1647.

Persons who had the best opportunities of forming a judgment as to the probable conduct of the army, when

the moment of dissolution came, entertained serious fears for the result, as may be seen in letters from Sir William Constable, Colonel Overton, and the Rev. Edward Bowles (already known to the reader), who was chaplain to the forces under Sir Thomas Fairfax. Sir William Constable declares that obedience is not to be expected from the soldiers, and Colonel Overton dimly foresees a remoter danger in the consequences of letting loose a mass of disappointed men, without provision, on the country. Happily these prognostications were disappointed by the result. Notwithstanding their grievances the soldiers were firm in their allegiance; and the appearance of the General at headquarters restored order and confidence.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX,
AT DENTON, THESE.

My Lord,

I received letters from Mr. Rushworth by this post, wherein he desires to be excused to your lordship for not writing, and entreats me to transmit to your lordship what I received, the substance of which is this, that the proceedings of the Parliament and City against the army are very violent. They have voted to send for their train of artillery to Oxford, to be bestowed for the service of Ireland, and to send commissioners to disband the army, with eight weeks' pay; and sent the General down on Thursday last. (I pray God direct him to avoid the snares are laid for him.)

The army have drawn up their grievances, and, for aught I hear, intend to present them; but are very doubtful what to do when the commissioners come to disband them. I pray God direct them for the best, rather than to suffer them to do ill. The King hath anticipated the propositions with an answer to the halves. The militia for ten years, and after that to be disposed as in the days of Queen Elizabeth. The Presbytery for three years, of which, he says, he thinks they will be weary in that time: provided he may enjoy his liberty in his own chapel: that he may send twenty divines to the Assembly to consider of a Church government: to pass acts for the Parliament's debts, including his own: confirming acts of the new Great Seal, so that they confirm the old: an Act of Oblivion for all delinquencies. I doubt not but your lordship hath these advertisements from other hands; but I could not neglect the trust reposed in me, much less my duty to your lordship, which I shall personally tender as soon as possibly I may, which I hope will be this day se'nnight. In the meantime I am, my lord,

Your lordship's most humble servant,

EDW. BOWLES.

York, May 22nd, 1647.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX,
AT DENTON, PRESENT THESE.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I HAVE, and still shall continue to scribble unto you, every post. Having this opportunity of Mr. Jo. Wentworth, I send the news which passed last day in the House —a day of as great harmony as I have seen of late. The General went to Saffron Walden upon Thursday last.

This gentleman tells me that he hath occasion to wait upon you at Denton, and desires your favour in a business between Colonel Bethell and himself, wherein he thinks the justice of his business will be a sufficient inducement to your lordship to mediate for, and the Colonel to condescend to his desires. I have many years known this gentleman, and the goodness of his disposition, which emboldens me to insert this much of business in this letter, of which I know you desire to be free at Denton. I have no more to add, but my duty to your lordship and my lady, and remain, my lord,

Your lordship's humble servant,

THOS. WIDDRINGTON.

Gray's Inn, May 23rd, 1647.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, AT HIS HOUSE, DENTON, HUMBLY PRESENT.

MY LORD,

I DIRECTED a letter to your lordship in your journey, by the post, who, I presumed, would overtake you. If that came not to your hands, I lost only my own excuse, and presenting you with such passages as were then fresh. I missed very narrowly your taking horse, and by that means received not any particular commands from your lordship, which shall be very carefully observed on the least intimation from you. Your getting well to Denton was the best news I could expect from thence; and if I could give a good account of our getting well off from our disputes here with the army, it were more desirable news than I am as yet furnished for. On Friday, our last day of sitting, there was much joy in the House, at the fair accord that seemed to be

for some hours, upon the report which Lieutenant General Cromwell made from the army, divers things being voted, besides an ordinance, that day passing both Houses, for indemnity for things done through the necessity of the war; consideration had for securing the remainder of arrears, and freeing all such as had served as volunteers from being pressed for the service of Ireland, with some other fair things; but one small thing being moved and denied, which was a declaration that we parted with them as friends, being satisfied of their good affection to the Parliament, this drew out some sharp expressions, turned our fair day into a storm, the House rising in the midst of the heat, and the debate deferred till Tuesday, our next day of sitting. My lord, thus far I had gone yesterday. This day the debate about giving satisfaction to the army by some vindication of them being laid aside by vote, the time of disbanding all the foot was voted severally for every regiment,—beginning with the General's regiment, at Chelmsford, this day se'nnight, and so proceeding with the rest at their several quarters, at several days, which will end about the 15th of June. I do not think that it is expected by any that obedience will be yielded by the soldiers, the provocations being so resented and grown to such an height; I fear we shall too soon see the issue, which God prevent.

I will trouble your lordship no further, but desire to have my uncivil parting with my lady excused, who remain,

Your lordship's most humble servant,

WM. CONSTABLE.

Queen Street, May 24th, 1647.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, AT DENTON HOUSE, THESE HUMBLY PRESENT.

My Lord,

I continued my present station in this place in hope of a happy and fair discharge of that trust, which hitherto I can comfortably account for, your lordship's honoured conferrings in that and all my other undertakings under you, and unfeignedly spoke myself as much your honour's, in your humble close, as the greatest beginnings under your lordship, and live as thankfully as I have acted faithfully, in your most noble intrustments. I cannot add to those constant relations which weekly come to your lordship from abler pens, only amongst others I offer my mite of observance. I see, methinks, a contention, in crossing betwixt the long robe and the short; the one upon the interests of the States' trust, and the other for the price of blood, the honour of his arms, and the indemnity of his person. I trust piety and public respect will, on both parts, prevent and persuade; I wish the variety of opinions and capricious parties multiply not old diseases beyond state remedies; we might hereby become rather a land of promise than of peace. The City's petition was lately burnt for some supposed seditious overtures. The soldiers' grievances are come in, and moneys raised for the cure; yet, if too much public faith intermix the ingredient, I doubt disbanding may lose its common Catholic virtue. Reduction to an army is the most odious part of arithmetic, nor can it be gotten of an anti-liberal, which is so scant and pinching. Methinks it is hard to exchange our erst honourable employment into lazy begging by ineffectual petitioning; but I can add little more offer to your lordship than what every Diurnal delivers. I shall

ever, to my utmost, rest ready to discharge what I owe. I trust your lordship is in my overtures more apt to put forth a pardon than to impute blame. The good of the garrison in its condition will, I know, in the promotion of your honour's interest for its good or my own, not want a favourable influence, suitable to its necessitous condition in their pay, or my own employment. I shall not further insist on circumstances, having sufficiently blotted this paper. To avoid any farther prolixity or disorder, I shall only add that I am,

Your lordship's devoted servant,

ROBT. OVERTON.

London, 25th May, 1647.

The announcement of what had been done by Parliament was unsatisfactory to the army. The amount of pay to be distributed was pitiful—the amnesty was not sufficiently comprehensive. There was a mutual disposition apparent nevertheless to adjust these difficulties. The army was fortified by right and reason, and Parliament could not fail at last to see the justice of admitting its claims. Sir Thomas Fairfax stood between them, assuaging the storm at both sides, and controlling his explosive materials with great prudence and ability.

While these negociations, in the shape of rendezvous, petitions, and counter-petitions, were going forward, the King was filling up his leisure with bowls and secret correspondence at Holmby, and the nation, engrossed by the new questions, and believing his Majesty to be quite safe, almost forgot that such a person existed. But the army was not so indifferent. It saw clearly

that the custody of the royal prisoner gave the vantage ground to Parliament in the pending arbitration; and a desire to get possession of the King began to spread amongst the troops. That such was the feeling of the army cannot be doubted, although it was carried into operation not by an organised movement, but by an isolated adventure. One Cornet Joyce, taking upon himself to represent the general desire, sallied out of Oxford at the head of 500 troopers, made direct for Holmby, and taking possession of his Majesty's person, with his Majesty's consent, carried him off. Upon intelligence of this extraordinary action, which threw the whole kingdom, more especially the Parliament and city, into consternation, Sir Thomas Fairfax offered to deliver his Majesty from the custody of Joyce, but his Majesty declined. He thought he was better where he was; that new distractions would spring out of this strange incident; and that he might ultimately profit by the confusion. And so we leave him for the present at Newcastle, playing at tennis, and discoursing with Cornet Joyce and Hugh Peters, the latter endeavouring in vain to prevail upon his Majesty to let him preach before him.

The Parliament men, such as Hollis, Stapleton, and Clotworthy, designated as "incendiaries" in the next letter by Rushworth, were the prime movers in the votes and measures which had given umbrage to the soldiers. They had most of them belonged to the old army under Essex and Manchester, and regarded the New Model

with the most rancorous hostility. The Stapleton here alluded to was Sir Philip Stapleton, member for Boroughbridge, to be distinguished from another Stapleton who was member for Aldborough, and from the William Stapleton who attended Charles II. in exile, and was created a baronet after the Restoration. There was a third Stapleton who was a gentleman of the bed-chamber to Charles I.; and a fourth who was private chaplain to Cromwell. Sir John Clotworthy was member for Malden.

The proceedings arising out of the abduction, or, rather, the elopement of the King, may be traced through the following letters. The army, having possession of the King, moved nearer to London, and gave a firmer and more distinct expression to their demands. They openly charged the disaffected members with the evil machinations which had wrought this disastrous difference, and demanded their dismissal, declaring at the same time their resolution in no way to meddle with the settlement of religion, and requiring that the Parliament should carry out its own principle of free representation through successive Parliaments, so that "men might not sit perpetual judges over their fellow-subjects." The dignity and moderation of the army throughout this dangerous crisis cannot be too deeply appreciated. By their motions about London they displayed their power without abusing it, and prevented disturbance by exhibiting the means of suppression. If on any point, they exceeded their legitimate province, it was in stipulating for the security of the

King's rights and prerogative and the succession of his family. Such grave questions did not lie properly at the disposal of the iron hand of the executive. But the purpose of the army was the settlement of the kingdom, and the restoration of peace, and some latitude may be allowed to the wide discretion with which circumstances had invested them.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO, LORD FAIRFAX, THESE, POST-HASTE.

My Lord,

I beg pardon for my haste: the King is now at Newmarket, well guarded more than regarded. Businesses grow high. I hope God will bring much good to the kingdom by it, and a sudden peace. If they had had the King, I mean Hollis and Stapleton, &c., the Scots had come in to have crushed this army. The Lord direct the General and the army; tomorrow we have a rendezvous near Royston. Sir Henry Vane, jun. and others come down to-day to satisfy the army. This enclosed letter from the General to the House will satisfy your lordship. The army hath honest intentions, none need fear them but such as Hollis, Stapleton, Clotworthy, and such incendiaries. No doubt the Scotch will come in yet, if they think to find no opposition in the north; other friends there had need bestir themselves.

I think business here will be brought to a sudden push in one week, you will see a way agreed on to compose all in love. My humble service to your good lady,

John Rushworth.

Cambridge, June 9th, 1647.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO, LORD FAIRFAX, AT DENTON, THESE.

My Lord,

Considering my own duty, and your lordship's solicitude about the affairs which are in transaction above, I could not but give you a short account of the news I received. And first, in general, I have very good hopes that upon the whole matter, there is little danger; but that if God give them wisdom to manage their business it may produce very good effects in the Parliament and kingdom, which were going on in the high way to a worse confusion. The business is very strongly laid in the army, and the Parliament and city are very backward to raise new forces, notwithstanding the earnest endeavours to that end, especially by the Scots who are very much moved at the Parliament being no more moved with the securing the King; and have made an offer of aid for his rescue; but sure we shall beware the third time. The army have resigned themselves in all business to the hands of their superior officers—and the General and Lieutenant-general appear in the regulating things among them. And they have given ground to the General to declare that they intend not at all to interest themselves in matters of religion, either in opposing Presbytery, or effecting liberty of religions, but that they will submit in those things, which is very well. They intend to hold the King only in safe custody, so that he do no harm, and I think the malignants, notwithstanding all their hopes, will have a hard bargain of his being there. The Parliament have sent down commissioners to treat with them, as Sir Henry Vane, jun., Mr. Scowen, Major General Skippon, and one Mr. Povey; pray God give them wisdom on both sides so to order their desires and grants as the

public good may be most advantaged. We shall very shortly hear of their propositions. And truly it may be hoped that this appearance of trouble may more hasten our peace than the many overtures of peace elsewhere. But things are not so secure but that it will be very necessary to look up earnestly to God, who fashioneth the hearts of men, to order things by his infinite wisdom to the public good. To him I commend your lordship, your family and affairs, and am

Your lordship's humble servant,

EDW. BOWLES.

York, June 12th, 1647.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO, LORD FAIRFAX, AT HIS HOUSE AT DENTON, IN YORKSHIRE.

SATURDAY last, the General and part of his army came to St. Albans. The Parliament and City were much affrighted at it. The Parliament upon it revoked the power of the Committee of Safety, newly made, that they should act nothing but as the House was acquainted with it. The Common Council were much offended at the Committee of the Militia for offering to beat up drums, and to require the shutting up of the shops for fear of this army, which they never feared or distrusted, and wrote a civil letter unto the General, expressing much averseness to raise any forces in the least measure against this army, and sent four aldermen and eight common-councilmen to the General, to St. Albans, who accordingly came thither, upon Monday morning, and received infinite satisfaction of the reality of the army towards the City, as intending them no hurt. And for their fuller satisfaction, yesterday, June 14th, (that day that Naseby battle was fought), the General and his Council of

War finished the representation of the General and the army, concerning the bottom of their desires, in relation to the King, Parliament, and kingdom, which is very long, but set forth with much reason and arguments to strengthen the same. It will be put in print to-morrow, but will hardly come down by the post. I shall only hint briefly, because my time is short. The particulars are—

1. That those members of Parliament who have incensed the Parliament against the army, and would have begot a new war, may not sit any longer as judges over us, and that if the House will give leave, their names shall be made known, and particularly charges against members delivered in; and, accordingly, the persons were named,—Hollis, Stapleton, Lewis, Clotworthy, [Sir William] Waller, Massey, and some others.

2. It is desired that the Parliament will consider of a time when they will put an end to the Parliament, first settling the peace of the kingdoms and those other things in order to it; and that there may be Parliaments successively, whereby men may not sit perpetual judges over their fellow-subjects.

3. It is declared that the army will no ways hinder the settling of the Presbytery, desiring regard may be had to tender consciences, according to the Parliament's declarations.

4. That when the King hath settled the militia and those other things relating to the peace of the kingdom, that he and his posterity may have his just rights and prerogative.

And lastly, that the free-born subjects of England may not be debarred the liberty of petitioning.

There are very few particulars more besides these; and it is expressed in the Representation that in these we do acquiesce, though these be not all we might desire, but will

trust this Parliament and future Parliaments for the better satisfaction of it. The Parliament would have us forty miles from London, the City thirty miles; but till we have assurance that no forces shall be raised, either by Parliament or City, we cannot with safety think of going back. Stapleton and Hollis court the Reformadoes to lay a foundation of an army, which is a thing odious to the City, who plainly see their danger to be greater, even of a massacre by those intended to be raised by that party, than of any fear if our army were all in the City.

I am so over-toiled with business, I cannot write much, but shall, by an express, send more to your lordship.

JOHN RUSHWORTH.

St. Albans, June 15th, 1647.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, AT DENTON, IN YORKSHIRE, THESE PRESENT.

THE representation of the army in print, I suppose, is now public in the North; the agitators of horse have undertaken to disperse them in those parts; it gives great satisfaction in all these parts of the kingdom. The charge against the members takes not so well; it is held too slight; the privilege of Parliament is so tender a thing that they will not suspend a member on a general charge; for more than suspension is not desired. The particular charge will be speedily ready and against some of them to the purpose. But time will not admit of this dilatory proceeding; and therefore expedition will be used in a more general way, in order to a permanent settlement of the peace of the kingdom, which will be pressed to be done without delay before foreign forces or Scots come in; and therefore, if in the next

you hear the army is gone to court ladies in Hyde Park, think it not strange, neither wonder that on Thursday next Colonel Whaley attends the King with a strong guard to Richmond, where I believe more forces will be about that time. But that suits not with the votes of both Houses, that only Colonel Rossiter's regiment shall be there for a guard; for, believe it, I perceive the army will not part with the King without a peace settled. Great is the fear at London at the army's approach; but it is chiefly of those who have so provoked the army, and been unthankful to it, which (under God) was their deliverance. The Committee of Common Council are here; the correspondency is very fair between the city and army.

The army votes nothing, nor sends the Parliament anything, without communicating it to the city; truth is, the city more fears the Reformers within than the army without. The Parliament was yesterday again kept in by force by their blades till they had more money granted them. The Parliament is not free; nothing will set it free (it was conceived) but the army. An adjournment is threatened; God guide their counsels; a week is like to produce great change; let all honest men in all parts of the kingdom be united, and prevent any that shall endeavour to raise new forces to beget a new war.

Sir,

Your servant,

JOHN RUSHWORTH.

St. Albans, June 22nd, 1647.

The General is well, and hopes of good upon this business.

FOR HIS EXCELLENCY SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX.

OUT of the respect I owe your Excellency, I thought it convenient to give you notice that there are several gentlemen pretending dependence of your army, as also authority from yourself though not produced to the satisfaction of officers, who have appointed private rendezvous, so far to the disturbance of the forces as the Parliament has taken notice of them, and have sent me a note of the House to apprehend such who shall come hither to disturb their forces in this Association, the which I have taken course to publish; all which I have here communicated to your Excellency, desiring a favourable construction to what I do, in order to their present commands. I shall take a return to these from your Excellency as an addition to the former civility, which have obliged me to subscribe myself

SYDENHAM POYNTZ.

June 25th, 1647.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, AT DENTON, THESE PRESENT.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

I HAVE not omitted one post, but have writ unto your lordship by the way of Leeds; but doubting they miscarry that way, I shall hardly adventure, unless I hear they come safe to your hands; for affairs here, I hope things will come to a speedy and happy composure. Upon the armies coming into Uxbridge, the members withdrew, upon their own motion; and both Houses have voted and enabled their committee to treat and debate things with the army, which

are mentioned in the army's representation and papers. The City is very fair to us, and have a standing committee in the army to keep a good correspondence between the City and the army. They and all good men much confide in the General, and hope for a good conclusion, but fear the disobedience of the soldiers, which truly, I think, need not. The General hath had sore conflicts in this business, and indeed he hath a hard game to play, in managing a matter so much out of method and rule; and I hope the Lord, in conclusion, will let all men see that not by ends exceeding him, or most under him, to be (as it were) in a condition of disobedience to the Parliament. It is but in relation to the ill party, whom your lordship knows what malice they have vented against Him and the army. Parliament must be upheld: abuses in it fit to be reformed. This is all I shall trouble your lordship with at present, and remain

Your lordship's most humble servant,

JOHN RUSHWORTH.

Uxbridge, June 27th, 1647, 12 *at night.*

TO THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

HONOURABLE SIR,

I HAVE communicated your letter, the ordinances and votes you sent me to my officers, and they have made them known to most of their respective troops and companies; but there is such a distemper in several of their regiments as that we find no authority or power we have, will recall them to their former obedience. Their main desire is to associate their forces with his Excellency's army, resolving to stand or fall with them: in this their instant request to his purpose, they have selected two out of every assenting troop or com-

pany who now reside at Pontefract, advising and acting with some come from the southern army what they think fit in pursuance of their aforesaid end. This day, five of their number, upon my engagement for their safe return, which I was willing to do both the better to know their intentions; and because the Council of War did conceive it to be of dangerous consequence to apprehend them; now did present to the Council of War a declaration which they demanded to be immediately subscribed by some of the colonels present, or to receive their negative answer, upon which it was then resolved by the Council of War, whose advice therein was requested by the said colonels, they should suspend their answer till the return of the gents.

I lately sent to his Excellency to inform him of the men come hither from his Excellency's army, pretending by his authority; and of the vote directed to me to apprehend such as come hither to disturb this army. What the issue of these things will be I know not; I shall humbly desire the directions of the House herein, and in all things to my utmost power shall be ready to manifest my fidelity to the Parliament, and approve myself

Your most humble servant,

SYDENHAM POYNTZ.

July 2nd, 1647.

P.S. Sir,—Our forces here have observed, that they have ever waited long for whatsoever moneys the House hath ordered them; and perhaps fear the like now, his Excellency's army having received theirs. If that 10,000*l.* lately ordered could be presently procured, it might be a probable expedient to satisfy the soldiers in this distraction; therefore, my humble request is, you would be pleased to contribute your assistance for that purpose, and it shall add to my former engagements.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO, LORD FAIRFAX, THESE HUMBLY PRESENT.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

I HAVING some occasion to send a messenger near Denton, made bold thereby to present my most humble service to your lordship and my lady; and to give you to understand how all things pass here, and what we have heard from his Excellency's army, viz.,—Captain Clayton returned to York yesterday, about eight of the clock in the forenoon, with an answer from his Excellency (to this inclosed, dated June 25th, 1647). To this effect his Excellency writ: That if any officers or soldiers were come from his army into the Northern army, and laboured to inform this army of the fair carriage of his, and that such demands as were desired were just, and the reports cast upon himself and his army in disobeying ordinance of Parliament were untrue; said he had sent none such: but if any such were come from his army, and had endeavoured to satisfy any of the truths aforesaid, he and the forces under him would countenance and protect such good instruments, and those that adhere to them. So that Poyntz is hereby satisfied, and intends (after a consultation he had with old Ferns) he and his whole family to-morrow se'nnight for London, that he may give up his commission, by reason he cannot have any command in the North, save of Colonel Ledgard, Captain O'Neale, Captain Blacker, and some few more inconsiderable persons, as the Marshall-General and such like fellows.

Your lordship will further perceive what doings were at the Council of War, on Friday last, by this other inclosed, which was before Clayton came back with an answer. The letter is

sent to the House. I wish it make no alteration of Poyntz's journey. If Clayton had done his message faithfully, it had prevented this letter to the House. He got to his Excellency on Monday last, by twelve o'clock, and was dispatched on Tuesday for coming back; but whether he had some message from Poyntz to some of the members questioned yea or no, I know not; but for the nearest way for Yorkshire he went to London, and so got not York before Saturday.

He takes care how to pass clear from the soldiers: they are much enraged against him, about these two he caused to be executed, neither calling a council of war upon them, nor affording them time to prepare for death. All his creatures have forsaken him, but such as are extraordinary ill-conditioned. I think I know them every one. I sent by the last post the copy of the letter (to the House) to his Excellency. Not to trouble your lordship any further at present; but as occasion offers itself you shall hear further from him who is, my lord,

Your lordship's most humble servant,

ROBT. HOLBORNE.

York, July 4th, 1647.

It was five of those they call agitators came from Pontefract last Friday, and in the time the Council of War sat at Poyntz's house, they desired admittance, and after long debate with him and the officers, were then admitted; and their message was, first an engagement of so many troops and companies to the southern army; then they headed an engagement and declaration for Colonel Bethnell and Colonel Copley to subscribe and demand their hands thereto, and to repair to their regiments, or otherwise to take their answer. Ledgard would gladly had some advantage against them, or the army in the North, if he could, but they were dismissed;

and though neither Colonel signed them, I hear the officers have all subscribed since, or most of them. Sir William Constable went from York yesterday, about twelve o'clock, for Bewley, and so to Hull. He will be at York next Friday.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO LORD FAIRFAX, AT DENTON, THESE.

SINCE my last there hath little of note happened; only on Friday last the treaty began at Wickham, where things were debated by the Lords, Commons, and the Commissioners of the Army, which was rather to prepare the method of the treaty than to agree of any matter of substance at that time. On Saturday the head-quarters removed to Reading, and the King, being then at Windsor, removed to Cavesham, the Lord Craven's house, within two miles of Reading. Monday there was but little time spent in the treaty, by reason the officers were engaged in finishing the charge against the members; and this day it was presented to the House by four colonels, a mayor, two lieutenant-colonels, four captains, and two soldiers in behalf of the general and the whole army. There being so many persons impeached, and requiring therefore variety of matter, were necessitated to the spinning out of so much time till now for the delivery of it in, when yet a power is reserved for adding more articles at any time before the trial, and to have a trial speedily cannot be expected, unless it be upon one or two of the principles; for then it will protract the great business of the kingdom, which will admit of no delay, for expedition is the life of our business, and be assured not an hour's time will be lost in concluding upon those things which are for the present settlement of the peace of the

kingdom. The King's party carry themselves very high and insolent, as conceiving the army acts their game; whereas they have little cause to think it; for so far forth as anything is fitting to be desired on their behalf for the more securing the peace of the kingdom, something will be offered, but as in relation to set them up in their authority again, they may have little hopes; for certainly the army will never desert the interest of the Parliament, and honest people of England that have adhered to them. Notwithstanding if the King grant what is desired for the security of the kingdom, as settling the militia by sea and land in trusty hands, and those other things that shall be agreed to by the Parliament, that then the Parliament grant him what may appertain to his right. There is a continuance for the present of two of the King's chaplains to be with him. The head-quarters is to be continued at Reading, till such time as things be settled. The eleven members were called into the House to hear the reading of the charge, who, after the reading thereof, set a good face on the businesses, hoping to clear themselves.

J. RUSHWORTH.

London, July 6th, 1647.

The General is well, but much perplexed with business; the burden of the kingdom lies upon him.

SIR THOMAS WIDDRINGTON TO THE LORD FAIRFAX.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

THE treaty hath had no progress since Wednesday last, at which time the general and officers made three proposals: first, against reformado officers staying in London; secondly, against new levying and listing of men in and

about London; thirdly, for purging the House of delinquent members; and until they have satisfaction in these things, they said that they could not safely proceed in the treaty: since which time the House hath done several things which I hope may give satisfaction in all these three particulars. We are now told that the heads of the treaty are in a very good preparation and forwardness, and hope to see all or most of them in one bulk or body at the same time, which sight will be far less discouragement than doing nothing. Dispatch and expedition herein, as they are the common desires of most people, so they are things professed by all parties here to be extremely laboured for, and for my part I see no instant ground to believe or suspect otherwise. It must be confessed that the business is weighty, and consists of many particulars already visible out of their papers, which must necessarily require much time, as well in the preparation and proposal, as in the debate and resolution. We hope to begin again upon the treaty this day or tomorrow, which hath now had so long a parenthesis of stay. The Prince Elector dined with the general on Saturday last, and the French ambassador gave him a visit in the afternoon.

This all for the present: with my duty to your lordship and my lady,

My lord, your lordship's humble servant,

THO. WIDDRINGTON.

From Reading, July 12th, 1647.

I beseech your lordship's pardon for using my man's hand in writing some part of this.

FOR THE RIGHT HON. FERDINANDO, LORD FAIRFAX.

SINCE my last upon this day se'nnight, there hath not been that expedition in relation to the treaty as was hoped for in my last, the reason is, because those things desired by the army in order to our security before we engage to proceed upon the treaty, are not fully granted; but since, there is just cause of fears and jealousies, that if we should engage in the treaty, there would be an obstruction (our former desires being not granted), as for instance: The Houses have not yet declared against the calling in of foreign forces; they have not yet by vote of the House, suspended those members that have been lately impeached; without which no proposition can be agreed upon by the Committees of the Parliament and the Army in order to a peace; but if those men come in they may protract if not prevail to cause a denial of what is propounded: besides the ordinance which they have put forth to purge the city of reformadoes, is not effectual, for that any fewer of the militia may grant leave for any one that shall allege they have a necessary occasion to stay, and so any fewer of those of the militia who granted a commission to D'Albiere to raise forces against this army, may with much disposition of mind, grant leave for such reformadoes to stay as may be serviceable to their ends.

The greatest satisfaction the House hath given this last week, hath been in declaring the penalty upon such members who have aided or assisted the King, or sued for, or accepted pardons from the King. This indeed is like to produce a good effect, for many of the western gentlemen, as namely, Sir Samuel R., Sir John B., &c., are conceived to come within that compass, and near thirty more for accepting of pardons from the King.

Sir Charles Egerton and others, are like to withdraw upon another account. Mr. Ant. Nicholl had a report made concerning his election, and it is voted clear illegal, having sat six years without just warrant: do not conceive, that the army protracts the treaty, or delays time for any end, for whilst they have been thus labouring for satisfaction from the Parliament in the aforesaid particulars, they have not omitted to prepare the foundation of a treaty, or rather a whole map of every particular to be treated upon, which being now finished, tomorrow will pass a council of war, then the Committees will have the whole business before them. The particulars are many (as well they may be), considering it contains the settlement of all things in order to the peace of the Kingdom.

The Prince Elector coming to see the King, came on Saturday last and dined with the general, showing great respect unto him, and the general answered it with discharging twenty-two pieces of cannon at his going away. In the afternoon, the French ambassador who had been with the King, came to the General and gave him a visit as the General had done to him in the forenoon. I presume you have a great noise of a resort of cavaliers to the court at Cavesham. It is true they came, both Scottish and English; some have access, others not; but I hope all our friends will not alter their opinion of this army.

Notwithstanding this their resort, that they will ever desert the Parliament, or the honest party of England, that ever adhered to them, there is nothing showed them but civility; and that is done with as much caution as may be; except now and then an extravagant person demeans himself so ill as he deserves to be made incapable of that favour.

JOHN RUSHWORTH.

Reading, July 13th, 1647.

FOR THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO, LORD FAIRFAX, THESE PRESENT.

THURSDAY, July 15th, the officers met about the materials of a treaty, and sat all day long about it; made a great progress therein. Debates were had whether it were fit to present to the world the substance of the treaty, before we were secured of the militia of London and kingdom to be safe and confiding hands.

Friday, July 16th, a general council of war called, consisting of about 100 officers besides agitators. The debate held till almost twelve at night. There were variety of opinions, and all concurred in one at conclusion. The agitators were higher in proposals than the officers, who were more expert in State affairs. I only mention this, that you may be assured the inferior, upon good reasons, submitted to the superior, so that it is not will but reason that guides the proceedings of the army. The result, in brief, was to desire that the militia of London might be put in the same hands it was before the late alteration thereof: this being a principal reason, that those that had it formerly were men of unparalleled fidelity and integrity, and as to the army, more to be confided in than the new. The second desire was, the Parliament would declare against the invasion of foreign forces. Third, that prisoners (except for debt, murder, &c.) might be set at liberty, if no proof against them, or otherwise released upon bail, and particularly Messrs Lilburn, Musgrave, Overton, &c. The fourth was, that the Committee of Weavers' Hall may be called to account how they have issued out 200,000*l.*, not above 40,000*l.* of it having come to this army. In the inquisition whereof it is supposed the power of the new Committee of State will appear to have

been very diligent for their own advantage, though their power held out not above ten days.

The names of many of that new committee you may know, if you have heard of the names of the eleven new members. Whilst the army was thus in debate of the militia of the City, the House was in debate of the militia of the kingdom, and voted the General Commander-in-chief of all the land forces in England; and this day the Lords concurred therein, which, being effected, the General will thereby be enabled presently to order all the forces in the field and garrisons, so as it is hoped they will be in such a posture, and so well ordered as to interrupt any insurrection that shall be attempted in any part of the kingdom, in case of non-concurrence in the treaty now in hand, and which we hope very shortly will be at an end. Our debates were interrupted by the appearance of Colonel-General Poyntz and his agitators, who mutually accused each other; but the Colonel-General seemed the more humble of the two. He is at liberty on his parole. The charge is brought in against him, yet it is conceived the prejudice will not be great if he go where he list. Upon the neck of this comes the news that Colonel Birch's agitators do tread the steps of the Northern, and seized upon the Colonel and his brother the Major, and (to boot) the Castle of Hereford and 2000*l.* in it, besides clothes, shoes, and other provisions; upon this ground, that the Colonel and Major declared against permitting the soldiery to associate with this army. Upon the Colonel's fair language his soldiers gave him his liberty, upon his word not to engage against the army. The Major, castle, and money they keep. Captain D'oyly being long since voted to be governor of Bristol, (but not agreed to by both Houses), got a commission dormant, under the hands of Stapleton, Holles, &c.,

came down to Bristol this last week, and demanded the fort and castle. Captain Sampson demanded the sight of his commission. He produced it unto him. When he saw the names of Holles, Stapleton, Waller, Lewis, Clotworthy, Massey were at it, he told Captain D'oyly his commission was signed by those that were impeached by an army that had persevered in their fidelity to the public, which those members had not, and therefore he was resolved to disobey his commission, and live and die with the army; and so the new intended Governor was dismissed.

We remove the head-quarters to Bedford.

JOHN RUSHWORTH.

Reading, July 20th, 1647.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

HOPING still Rushworth doth supply my defect in writing, I make bold to omit that duty sometimes longer than I should do, though desirous that neither my many businesses nor personal infirmity should make me forget it. Our treaty will, I hope, speedily have an end, being now almost ready to be sent to the House; but it is necessary, before the grounds of peace be laid down before them, some principal blocks be removed out of the way; therefore, this day we desired the Commissioners of Parliament to send a paper from us to the House, in which we desire they will declare against the bringing into this kingdom any foreign force whatsoever; that the militia of London may be put into their hands that did formerly manage it; with some other propositions, which, being first granted, may, through God's

blessing, give a more sure and happy conclusion to our proposals of peace. Indeed, in so great a work man can only propose, but God dispose how it shall be. We have seen much of his goodness in inclining things that way of late. Many turbulent spirits are yet in the city and army, but I hope their fury shall not prevail; and though some men's proceedings in this army have given some cause of jealousy, yet I trust, through God's assistance, we shall discern what is good, and not to be led along with the multitude to do evil. Colonel Lambart is coming down into the North to endeavour the settling of those forces, with some direction for that business; if such commanders be put over them as do tender the public peace, and not interested otherwise, will be a good work. In three or four days we shall remove our quarters from hence—the plague hath broken out in three houses in Reading; but where we shall have our next headquarters is not certainly resolved. Oxford is thought on; but I shall not desire to have the Court so near as it is now; it brings a great number of cavaliers amongst us, which brings rather an ill name than danger upon us. I shall leave your lordship to other relations; so pray your blessing and my humble service to my lady. I remain

Your lordship's most obedient servant,

T. FAIRFAX.

Reading, July 18th, 1647.

My wife and Moll present their humble duty to your lordship, and their service to my lady.

The "agitators" alluded to in the letters of Colonel Holborne and Rushworth were men deputed by the common soldiery to represent their opinions, acting in

some sort as commissioners between them and their officers, and appearing even at the bar of the House of Commons to give an account of the business with which they were entrusted. The conduct of these men was distinguished throughout by courage and integrity; and Rushworth, who would gladly have dispensed with their assistance at the council, bears testimony to the propriety of their bearing.

It will be seen in these letters that the Prince Elector dined in high pomp with the Parliamentary General. The conduct of the Prince (to which allusion has been already made*) at this memorable period appears to justify the suspicion that he entertained the hope of succeeding to that throne from which the pressure of events was now not unlikely to precipitate his uncle. Mr. Forster, in his able life of Cromwell, collects the scanty evidence upon which this suspicion is founded, and strengthens it by some very curious letters from the Prince to his mother, the beautiful Queen of Bohemia, which clearly show that even so far back as 1641 "the Prince was playing a double game between the Court and the people's party."† The whole course of his proceedings evinced that at least he was ready to take advantage of circumstances, and attach himself to the stronger side. After having attended his Majesty to York, and kept with him so long as it was safe, he deserted him at the breaking out of hostilities, and took ship for Holland. He soon afterwards returned to

* Page 101. † The Statesmen of the Commonwealth, IV., 73.

England, and while his brothers, faithful at all events to their cause, were fighting for the King, he paid assiduous court to the Parliament, procured a grant for the restitution of the pension which had formerly been bestowed upon him by the King, and became more and more bound up with the popular party as the King's affairs were drawing nearer to their tragical close. In one of his letters to his mother, dated in the November of the present year, he describes an interview he had just had with the King at Hampton Court, during which his Majesty reproached him for his subserviency to the Parliament, making use of these remarkable expressions, "I should rather have lived upon bread and water than have complied with the Parliament, which he (the King) said I did to have only one chicken more in my dish, and that *he would have thought it a design more worthy his nephew, if he had gone about to have taken his crown from his head.*" * That the Prince really contemplated such a turn of fortune, seems by no means improbable. All circumstances concur in giving a colour of likelihood to the supposition. But he acted with too much caution to risk more attainable aims upon the failure of that ambitious design, and, missing the crown of England, he succeeded in procuring his restoration to the Palatinate; which, luckily for himself, called him out of the country in 1648.

Dismissing the adventuring Elector to his foreign government, we return to our domestic affairs.

* The Statesmen of the Commonwealth, IV., 80.

The explicit declarations of the army had the effect of inspiring the Parliament with confidence, and of removing all difficulty in the way of restoring a perfect harmony between them. It was not for the Parliament whose energy and wisdom had averted the ruin of public liberty, and this army, whose allegiance had been proved by the severest tests, to separate at such a moment. There was a common enemy, in the party felicitously designated the "Malignants," yet to be overcome, and their united power was necessary to its suppression. If the troops of Fairfax surrounding London, like the magic ring in the fairy tale, tightened or relaxed their circle according to circumstances, making a sudden pressure only when the evil conscience of the city was at work, there was no design in such movements to alarm or intimidate the Parliament. On the contrary, the close neighbourhood of the troops was the only guarantee by which the free deliberations of the legislature could have been secured through this perilous juncture.

In consideration of the time that would necessarily be consumed in the investigation of the charges against the eleven "incendiary" members—time which could ill be spared from the general concerns of the kingdom—Fairfax, on the part of the army, declared that he would be content with their absence from the House while the proceedings for the settlement of the public affairs were going forward; and the Commons, in accordance with this desire, passed a resolution on the

20th July, giving "leave" to Holles and the rest to "go about their particular business" for the space of six months, with permission to go beyond the seas, provided they returned at the end of that time to answer the accusation brought against them. There was a great tumult in the lobbies while this resolution was passing, and a multitude of people thronged on the stairs and blocked up the doors; but the Parliament stood firm to their purpose.

The news of this resolution no sooner spread through the City, than it produced a terrible commotion amongst the apprentices—the central source of all London riot and disaffection. On the 26th the fury of the hot-brained youth of the guilds made itself manifest in the avenues of both Houses of Parliament. Vast crowds assembled, and petitions were forced upon the Lords and Commons, demanding the restoration of the eleven members, and of the City militia, and demanding that the King should be brought to London. We have the first glimpse of this violent proceeding in letters from Sir Thomas Widdrington, and Lady Constable, the sister of Lord Fairfax.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD FAIRFAX,
AT DENTON, PRESENT THESE.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

COLONEL WHYTE, being absent from hence, acquainted me by writing with the contents of your last letter to him, of the several particulars wherein I shall give you

this small account. For Mr. Spenser Lucy's moneys, they are in town in a safe hand, and will so remain till he return into the country, and then care will be taken of the payment of what belongs to you. This I had from Sir Richard Lucy, who promised me also to write to Sir John Mounson concerning his moneys. I have also spoken with Mr. Anson, who tells me that Sir Edward Hussey and his lady are still in town. They had agreed for the sale of some lands, but the purchaser makes some scruples, so the bargain not perfected, and no moneys gotten; nor, I doubt, will be this long time.

For news, we are still troubled with fears. There has of late appeared a new oath and confederacy, the substance of which is to bring the King to his Parliament upon such terms as he offers in his answer made the 12th of May last to the propositions sent to the King at Newcastle. The army hath great apprehensions upon this. [The business is not so well allayed as I imagined; for I hear that divers apprentices and others are gone to the House this day to present a petition to this purpose; and there is another petition from the Common Council against the charging of the militia. It is hoped that both these will be quietly settled.]* But the Houses have already in great measure allayed the business. The last militia of the City of London is changed, and a declaration made by both Houses against the inviting in of any foreign forces. I desire by this to present my duty to your lordship and my lady, and take leave to remain,

My lord,

Your lordship's humble servant,

THOS. WIDDRINGTON.

Gray's Inn, 26th July, 1647.

* This interlineation in the original letter is evidently out of place, and should follow the succeeding sentence.

I am going this morning to Bedford, where the headquarters and the Commissioners for Parliament are.

My lord, having some occasions to stay longer here this day than I intended, I met with your two letters, both dated the 23rd instant; and my Lady Constable sent me her letter and one enclosed from your lordship to one Mr. Hutchinson as I remember. Touching that business of Sir Edward Hussey, I can write no more than what I have above written. I believe that you will hardly get any moneys from that hand suddenly. I am sorry to hear of my lady's weakness. I beseech God strengthen her. For my own journey northward, it is a thing I very much desire; but in regard to my present employment, cannot think it yet fit to ask leave. I purpose (God willing) next week to essay it, for the time of the assizes will then draw near. And it concerns me to be there some days before, and shall endeavour, if I can possibly, to wait upon your lordship also.

FOR THE LORD FAIRFAX, AT DENTON.

My Lord,

This storm now looks black. My husband got late out of the Parliament House, not without danger. I know you will have it from better hands. He goes to the army, but by Windsor, or somewhere that way, to get me a house. I must presently remove. Sir Thomas Widdrington thinks that I may take Mrs. Platter's word (her husband is not in town) that they will seal the acquittance; there is none made yet. My lady's friends here think that her daughter Rhoda's goods are as well where they are as in any place here. I will take your keys with me, for my niece removes too. I am sorry for my lady's weakness. I beseech

you let me hear from you; if you please, send to Sir Thomas Widdrington, to Gray's Inn. I sent your letter to Mr. Hutchinson; I hear no more of it. Sir Thomas Widdrington spake with him.

This take into consideration: the King swears he will not consent: he is much cried up. This company saith that he shall do what he will. My lord, I am

Your servant,

D. CONSTABLE.

July 27th, 1647.

The extraordinary scene glanced at by Lady Constable is fully detailed in a letter from Rushworth, which contains the fullest account of the whole transaction hitherto published. In every point of view, this is a document of great importance, showing more fully and satisfactorily than we have elsewhere seen it expounded, the faithful spirit by which the army was governed. "We still trust," says Rushworth, who was with the army and represented its feelings, "to our interests in the Parliament, in which we shall live and die." The riot had the immediate effect of drawing out the zeal and loyalty of the soldiers, and making a common cause between them and the legislature.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE FERDINANDO, LORD FAIRFAX, AT DENTON, YORKSHIRE.

UPON Thursday last we marched from Reading to Aylesbury, and staid there all Friday, and came to Bedford on Saturday last. The cause of our marching this way was

the confidence we had in the Parliament and City, both the Houses of Parliament having voted the militia of London into those hands it was formerly. But upon Friday last, there being a Common Council, petitions were delivered to several hands, that the militia might continue in the hands of the malignant party (as we call them); and there was then set on foot several petitions, as also a solemn vow and engagement in the nature of the Scots' Covenant Oath, mutually to assist another that subscribed it, to bring home the King, &c., as you will see it in print. The Commons declared against this, and that they should be proceeded against, as traitors, that proceeded therein. The Lords concurred also. It was sent to the well-affected militia, who were newly re-invested with power to proclaim it, but they durst not do it. The Lord Mayor refused to give his assistance. The people threatened to tear any that should attempt the publishing of it. The Common Council then sitting, being Saturday night, the multitude cried to have them up to the House that night with a petition for the malignant militia to continue. The House being up, all businesses were put off until Monday, July the 26th. The House was no sooner set that day, but up came the Common Council with a petition, as aforesaid, for the malignant militia to stand; and there followed apprentices, seamen, reformadoes, malignants, and tag-rag, flocking in abundance to the Houses. The Lords first gave the answer to the Common Council, that they did adhere to their Ordinance, lately passed, concerning the militia, and also to their declaration against those who should proceed in the new Oath and Covenant. The apprentices and the rest of the rude multitude, understanding this, they broke into the House of Lords, and told them that they should either recal both the said ordinances and declaration,

or they should never come out. And one of the boldest standing up at the bar, said, "Where is Manchester? we must call him to an account." The House replied he was gone down; and so, with fair words, they got them to be quiet, until they had passed the votes for re-calling both the said ordinance and declaration. Thereupon the multitude departed, and the Lords adjourned until Friday next; and they thought themselves well that they got so away. Then down came the multitude to the Commons, about two of the clock, and they having given the like answer to the Common Council which the Lords had done, the multitude told them that they must pass what the Lords had done. But the Commons were stout, and put off till 4, 5, 6, 7 of the clock. Messenger after messenger was sent to the militia, to the Lord Mayor, and Sheriffs, to come down with the posse of the City, to rescue the House and relieve them. The militia stirred not, and the Lord Mayor would not. The Sheriffs came in person with some forty halberdiers, which was all the militia of the City that appeared for the Parliament.

The guards that were there stood still, and suffered the House to be thus abused, and let Scoutmaster-General Watson be seized upon by the tumult and afterwards carried to prison in the city, where he now is in custody; the servants of some of the army were abused by pulling them by the ears and noses, and so leading them up and down, saying, "These are the Independents." The sheriffs coming and making this show to little purpose, the Commons' hearts began to fail them for want of relief, and the apprentices grew more bold and broke into the House of Commons and told them they must pass what the Lords had passed or should not stir out of the House. Towards eight of the clock the Commons passed the votes to recal the declaration and ordinance for

the late alteration of the militia. When this was done and the House adjourned, the Speaker being out of the chair, many of the multitude went again into the House and thrust the Speaker back and the rest of the members, and told them he must to the chair again and pass another vote or else they would not go away; thereupon the Speaker was glad to take the chair, and the question was put that they held it fit the King should presently be brought up to London, and to which there was an answer given by some of the members, with the help of the tumult who stood by the table till the clerk wrote down the order and gave them it under his hand. This unparalleled action is such as indeed we may dread what the event is like to be. The House of Commons adjourned and was no less joyful of their liberty than the Lords were. But unhappily they adjourned no longer than until this day, and therefore it is conceived that new business will be put upon them. In brief I can conceive no other consequence can follow hereupon but absolute confusion, if not to the ruin and distraction both of the Parliament and city. If the Parliament sit they must vote everything that they would have them, and then this army will be the next vote to declare them traitors, or else they must dissolve and break in pieces, and so no Parliament, whereby all things will be out of order. Our friends did formerly complain that we retreated from Uxbridge, but modesty, civility, and integrity towards the Parliament and city, occasioned the retreat. We shall not buy our advantage perhaps at a dearer rate—we must not suffer the Parliament to be thus enslaved nor the kingdom destroyed. We think this business gives us a just call towards London for the peace of the kingdom, and to preserve the Parliament if it be not too late. Therefore by the next, expect to hear of great things. We hope the Lord

will so order our council as we shall quilt this giddy-headed multitude, being not yet countenanced openly with persons of estate, though underhand there is no want of their power and policy to effect their desires. By this appearance you may see the womb of this long hatched design, and I think you will judge it the last game and reserve they had left, and indeed it is so desperate, that it will require a desperate cure. The Lord be merciful to those he owns in the city, for it cannot be otherwise imagined but the city will be destroyed by the city; they will be obliged to put the sword into madmen's hands that will destroy themselves, and plunder them in the first place. Had this army had any mind to plunder, or any private or base end when they came so near London as Uxbridge, they needed not have lost an opportunity to enrich themselves, and therefore for the clearing of our hearts and proceedings, we doubt not but God will find out a way to direct us, and make us happy in our councils for the deliverance of this kingdom, notwithstanding all the secret plots and devices of our enemies. The King is at Woburn, not much troubled at these news, that I hear of. Our proposals for peace are finished, but not so fit (as things now stand) for public view. We still trust to our interests in the Parliament, in which we shall live and die, and with that merciful respect to those that have opposed us, that they cannot but say, if what we desired on their behalf be granted, they are dealt with in all tenderness. I believe as soon as the army is drawn together, the city will be sent unto to know whether they will own this action or no, of enforcing the Parliament in such a bold and unheard of manner; if they do, it will be fit to consider what is further to be done, that offenders may be brought to punishment, and a stricter guard kept to prevent the like evil for the future. There are

no risings in the country nor the least appearance of combination to that purpose, so that I conceive it is sudden, they being touched to the quick when the head of all their villainy, the malignant militia, began to be broken. It is said and believed, that the eleven members under hand set this business on foot, for many of the tumult gave out words at the House of Commons' door, that there were none but rogues left, such as had given their votes to cast out the eleven members that were honest men, and they should sit no longer than they acted as they would have them.

JOHN RUSHWORTH.

Bedford, Tuesday, July 27th, 1647.

On the next morning, both Houses met and adjourned till the following Friday. When Friday came, the Speakers were not to be found, and new ones, *pro tempore*, were elected in their place. The Parliament was acting under terror. The eleven excluded members had resumed their seats, and votes were passed confirming the demands of the City. These proceedings were urged on by tumult without and incendiaries within; and the Speakers of both Houses, with a hundred members of the Commons, and several of the Lords, repaired to the head-quarters of the army, now advancing towards London. The Parliament, driven from its seat, established itself in the camp, and held its deliberations in a council of war. Sir Thomas Fairfax, disregarding the orders of the House sitting at Westminster, which he declared was not the free Parliament of England, issued a manifesto

announcing his determination to recognise in the Speakers and members who had taken refuge with the troops the legitimate authority of Parliament, and to advance upon London for the purpose of re-establishing their rights. The attitude of the army brought the City at once to a sense of its duty; and the demands of the General were followed by the immediate compliance on all points of the Lord Mayor and Common Council. On the 6th August, Fairfax marched into London, accompanied by the Speakers and their train of members; was met at Hyde Park by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, who congratulated him on the peaceful composure of their differences; was cheered by the Common Council as he passed Charing Cross; and, proceeding to Westminster, installed the Parliament in their respective houses. For these signal services, Sir Thomas Fairfax was loaded with honours on all sides, appointed Constable of the Tower, and, with great ceremony, formally thanked in the Lords and Commons, as the preserver of the peace and liberties of the nation.

The town wore the aspect of a jubilee; but the army arrears were still unpaid, and it became necessary to enforce them. Remonstrances with the authorities having failed—applications to Parliament having failed—the presence of the troops in the suburbs having failed, to induce the citizens of London to discharge their dues, Fairfax announced to the Lord Mayor the extremity to which he was put, in the last resort, of quartering some of the soldiers within the City for

the purpose of prosecuting the levy. This reluctant reference to a topic which lay at the root of all the discontents was couched in language as moderate and conciliatory as the occasion would admit.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD MAYOR, ALDERMEN, AND COMMON COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF LONDON.

My Lord and Gentlemen,

What tenderness has been excercised by myself and this army towards the City, what care to preserve it from the least damage or prejudice, (notwithstanding the just occasions and great provocations which have thence been given), and with what patience we have waited for the raising of those arrears which have long since been due, I need not now use many words to express. Yourselves, the City, and kingdom, do sufficiently know it. We have lain here about London so long, as we cannot continue much longer, without intolerable opposition to these parts, if not the undoing of some, and in all this time, though the occasion both of our coming and stay hath been from the City, yet in tenderness to the trade and freedom thereof, no part of the army hath been quartered in it; but the parts adjacent have borne the burden, who gave no such occasion. And if, after so long and obstinate withholding what has been so long due, in affront to so many ordinances and demands of Parliament, and in the face of an army, (at a time when so great a part of the City had made themselves so obnoxious to both), I should now withdraw the army from the City before all the arrears of taxes thence due be paid, or if those who (after so many warnings from the Parliament, with

penalties imposed upon the non-payment thereof, within the time limited,) have so obstinately withheld their dues so long beyond that time, should now escape with the bare payment of their arrears at last, I can expect no less but that the ill example thereof would, in other parts of the kingdom, give great discouragement to friends from paying their shares, and encouragements to enemies to withhold theirs as long as they can. Upon these considerations (with the advice of my Council of War) I have desired the Committee of the Army that the penalties imposed by the Parliament for non-payment (as well as the arrears themselves) may be speedily levied, and that from all those who have not before this time paid in their proportions of assessments, no less than the full penalty may henceforth be accepted. And for the speedy levying both of arrears and penalties, (according to the ordinances of Parliament for that purpose), I have, with the same advice, appointed Colonel Hewson, with a thousand foot, to come to-morrow, to quarter in the City, and within the late lines of communication, in such places as he finds fittest, until the service be accomplished; and in the prosecution thereof to observe the directions of the Committee for the Army, according to the said ordinances. If this course should be a matter of wonder or offence to any, I make no doubt but the necessity of the thing (which I have before represented) will afford sufficient satisfaction to all that wish well to the Parliament, the army, city, or kingdom, and that those whose wilfulness (if not malignity, or design to break the army and incense the kingdom,) have necessitated this, will bear the blame, both of the thing itself, and of whatever ill consequence may ensue.

I shall desire the best care of your lordship and all that wish well to the Parliament and army, or tender the safety of

the City, that in this service (so necessary both for the ends aforesaid, and for the vindication of the authority of Parliament) no impediment or affront be given to the officers or soldiers employed therein, from whence any further ill consequences might be occasioned; as, on the other side, I have commanded, and am very confident that all care will be taken by Colonel Hewson and the other officers employed under him, for the soldiers' orderly and civil demeanour, both in their quarters and in the service, and that not the least wrong shall be done by them to any in the City, nor any damage, save what the persons refusing to pay their arrears or penalties according to the ordinance of Parliament, shall wilfully bring upon themselves, and the charge of quartering the soldiers till the service be done. For which purpose I have given order to Colonel Hewson that so soon as he hath (from the Committee of the Army, or collectors,) the lists of what persons are in arrear, he shall quarter the soldiers only upon such, as near as he can, with relation to the conveniency of quartering; and if any disorder or injury be done by the soldiers or officers, as I doubt not but Colonel Hewson will be careful to give redress, so in case of his neglect, I shall be ready upon complaint to do it to the utmost myself, who am

Your lordship's faithful friend and servant,

T. FAIRFAX.

Kingston, Nov. 19th, 1647.

The happy pacification of affairs effected by the General was not wholly free from lingering difficulties. Honours were profusely showered upon him by the City in common with the Parliament. He was invited to

a grand banquet at the Guildhall (which he declined); a basin and ewer of beaten gold, of the value of 1000*l.* or 1200*l.*, were subscribed for as a present to him from the City; and even the apprentices hastened to him in crowds with an address of acknowledgment and congratulation. But in the flower of all these tributes, there was still a dead halt in the proceedings of Parliament, notwithstanding the liberal expressions of gratitude and confidence so ceremoniously addressed to him by both Houses. The Lords promptly responded to the energy with which he rescued Parliament from a position of danger and humiliation, and at once annulled the proceedings which had taken place between the 26th of July and the 6th of August—the interval during which the Houses had acted under coercion, and in the absence of their Speakers. This vote was, in fact, necessary to the justification of the army. It was accordingly sent down to the other House, when the question was debated from day to day, and, to the astonishment of the whole kingdom, negatived by a majority of three. The effect of this decision was to ratify in the Commons the whole of those acts which the Speaker, and no less than 100 members, protected by the army, had declared to be unconstitutional, constrained, and without force. The dilemma arising out of this proceeding required some consideration; for it could not be denied that the House, which thus decided upon the validity of former sittings, was itself a free and constitutional assembly; and that had its decision

been in the affirmative, it would have admitted of no dispute. Yet, on the other hand, the army could not acquiesce in this decision without compromising the rights and liberties which they had recently vindicated in the liberation of Parliament. If the acts which this decision authenticated were legal and constitutional, the interference of the army was unjustifiable. But these acts were clearly illegal and unconstitutional, and it was, therefore, incumbent upon the army to resume the ground upon which they had originally taken up the question, and to require from the Commons a revision of their proceedings.

Sir Thomas Fairfax called a council of war at Kingston to deliberate upon this matter, and the result was a Remonstrance addressed to both Houses, in which they set forth the necessity of the proceedings they had taken on behalf of Parliament, and declared that the votes which had been passed between the 26th of July and the 6th of August were forced, and not the expression of a free legislation. The main point aimed at by this Remonstrance was the purging of Parliament, as they expressed it, of such members as acted and voted during the time when the Speaker and the rest were driven to seek protection from the army. The language on this point was explicit. It declared that if any of the members who had sat and voted in the "pretended Parliament," should hereafter intrude themselves to sit in Parliament before they should have given satisfaction concerning the grounds of their so sitting and voting,

the army would take a speedy and effectual course to bring them to condign punishment.

This Remonstrance was received and approved of in the Lords, and read in the Commons, without further motion. Shortly afterwards, however, an ordinance passed both Houses, declaring the sittings at Westminster null and void during the interregnum of the Speakers. The shape into which this ordinance was thrown did not exactly correspond with the requisition of the army; but it fully met the substantial justice and necessity of the case.

During these proceedings, his Majesty was quietly housed at Hampton Court. Ominous dreams of Wolsey may he have had in that gorgeous palace, whose history, even down to his own day, was crowded with courtly vicissitudes! He had been moving about from place to place—from Stoke to Oatlands, and from Oatlands to Hampton—with a show of state and cheerfulness which admirably masked not merely the actual durance in which he lived, but the feelings and designs he secretly entertained. Sometimes hunting in the New Park, sometimes dining with his children at Sion House, or having them dining with him, he was to all outward appearance so much at his ease that wagers were laid from day to day that he would be at St. James's or Whitehall within a week. All sorts of people had access to him, and the road to Hampton was so crowded with visitors who came to kiss hands, or to be cured of the Evil, that Fairfax was obliged to

remove his quarters from Kingston. Colonel Whalley, who had charge of his Majesty, says, in a declaration published in his Majesty's vindication at this time, that "it is confessed no gentleman is debarred the liberty of kissing the King's hand; yet no stranger stays long; we have fresh and fresh appearances; the faces you see in the morning, you seldom see in the afternoon; at the farthest but the next day." Colonel Whalley says nothing about the healing power of the royal touch, so that it might be supposed that all these people came out of reverence and loyalty to kiss the King's hand. The subject was rather dangerous, for it was only in the preceding April that the House of Commons found it necessary to warn the people against the superstition of being touched by the King, his Majesty having largely practised in that way at Holmby, to the scandal of the nation.* In the early part of his reign his Majesty openly encouraged the belief in his divine gift by a succession of proclamations, prescribing the order and periods in which the people were to repair to him for the cure of the Evil. The historians of these miraculous cures ascribe extraordinary powers to him, and one of them assures us that he "excelled all his predecessors in the divine gift; for it is manifest beyond all contradiction, that he not only *cured* by his sacred touch, both with and without gold, but likewise perfectly effected the same cure by his prayer and benediction alone."† We can clearly understand what the

* *Whitelocke.* † *Badger.* See Pettigrew on Medical Superstitions.

attraction was that drew the crowds to Hampton, and why the morning faces were seldom seen in the afternoon. But it is not so easy to comprehend the infatuation which under such grave circumstances resorted to means like these to propitiate popularity.

While his Majesty was at Hampton Court, the propositions intended to be made to him for the settlement of the affairs of the kingdom were fully discussed and finally decided upon in Parliament. The propositions, which were much the same as those formerly rejected by his Majesty at Newcastle, were presented to the King in September, and again rejected. His Majesty waived the proposals of the Parliament, and, with a world of professions about indemnity and liberty of conscience, desired to enter into a treaty founded upon the basis of certain proposals which had been drawn up by the army. The following curious document, found amongst the Fairfax papers, appears to refer to some negociation which about this time—while the propositions were yet under discussion in Parliament—had been opened, or was in contemplation, between the King and Sir Thomas Fairfax. So far as it goes, it agrees in spirit with the elaborate proposals drawn up at a council of war on the 6th of August; but no evidence can be traced that any such articles of agreement were ever submitted to his Majesty. The probability is, that this paper, in which only a few pressing topics are touched upon, to the entire omission of all the great questions embraced in the proposals both of the army

and the Parliament, was merely a rough draught of the heads of a preliminary agreement; and that the purpose or view with which it was drawn up had been set aside by the fluctuation of circumstances. There were doubtless many similar draughts of projected and unfulfilled designs written out in this way, and destroyed. This paper may have escaped the same fate by accident. It will be seen that there is at least one essential difference between these articles and the propositions of the Parliament, in the clause providing for the preservation of the rights of the Bishops, and that Fairfax distinctly comprehended the restoration of the Sovereign in his plan for the settlement of the kingdom.

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE KING'S MAJESTY AND SIR T. FAIRFAX AND THE ARMY, FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF PEACE IN THE THREE KINGDOMS, AUGUST, 1647.

IT is mutually agreed on between our Sovereign Lord King Charles and His Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, with his Council of War, for the speedy restoration of his Majesty's three kingdoms, and for the settling of them in a safe and well-grounded peace.

1st, That this present Parliament shall be suddenly adjourned to Oxford, and shall be then speedily dissolved, and not exceeding the space of eighty days, his Majesty's Warrant being already signed for that purpose.

2nd, That the Bishops shall continue in *statu quo prius*, and be restored to their indubitable rights, according to the ancient customs, laws, and statutes of this realm.

3rd, That all the ancient charters, laws, edicts, and several pleadings in this kingdom shall be forthwith translated into the English tongue, for the better understanding of all his Majesty's subjects therein.

4th, That all causes whatsoever shall be tried each in their respective county, and judges deputed by his Majesty, to hear and decide the said causes, that the people may no more be put to that excessive travelling to Westminster upon all occasions of suits.

5th, That the Earl of Bristol, the Earl of Newcastle, the Earl of Worcester, and the Lord Digby, shall expect no pardon: That Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely, Sir Robert Heath, Sir George Ratcliffe, Sir Richard Greenville, Sir George Carteret, Sir Charles Dalison, and other notorious delinquents be banished this kingdom during life, and their estates to be sequestrated for three years, and after the three years shall be expired, the said estates to be finally settled on their posterity.

6th, That all those that have not already compounded be forthwith fully discharged.

7th, That six thousand foot and two thousand horse be, with all speed, furnished with all accoutrements for the service of Ireland.

8th, That the several guards, consisting of his Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax's army, be speedily drawn off from the Tower, from the two Houses of Parliament, and the lines of communication, and the said places to be again guarded by the Citizens of London, as formerly.

9th, That liberty of conscience be allowed to all men, and that none molest or injure one another for their conscience, but peaceably and quietly bear with one another, so that we may be all kept in the general bond of peace, and though

different members, yet all wrapt up in the natural skin of one politic body, that so all may lead quiet and peaceable lives under his Majesty's government.

And that his Majesty is pleased to reside at Hampton Court, till all this be fully perfected.

These Articles were concluded and agreed upon betwixt our gracious Sovereign Lord King Charles, and our ever to be honoured General Sir Thomas Fairfax, August, 1647, to the great joy of all faithful subjects.

In the month of October, the miracle-pageantry at Hampton Court was interrupted by a sudden order from Parliament, for the withdrawal of certain officers who had latterly flocked to the palace. This proceeding took even the soldiers by surprise, and the cavalry were especially incensed at it. But Parliament quietly prosecuted its object. A design was on foot somewhere, the purport of which may be inferred from certain instructions which were issued to the officers of the Cinque Ports: "That if there be any attempt to pass any of our ports, a disguised gentleman, tall, and black hair, about thirty years old, one that varies garb, sometimes like a Frenchman, a Dutchman, and sometimes for a Scot, and that can set his tongue accordingly, examine him well; for such a man hath been observed to follow the Court lately, and fully suspected to be employed about desperate designs."

There was clearly something in agitation under the masquerade of hand-kissing and Evil-curing. About this time, too, divers ill-disposed persons were said to be

tampering with prisoners, and anonymous letters were affirmed to be constantly forwarded to his Majesty, threatening his sacred life. Under a strong belief in the truth of these latter reports (which may now be discredited, or doubted, in full), Cromwell wrote off hastily to Colonel Whalley to tell him that there were rumours abroad of some intended attempt on his Majesty's person. "Therefore," said Cromwell, "have a care of your guards. If any such thing should be done, it would be accounted a most horrid act." This was written in November, the day not being stated; on the 12th of the same month, at twelve o'clock at night, Cromwell forwarded a letter to Speaker Lenthall, informing him that at nine o'clock on the night before, his Majesty had withdrawn himself from Hampton. He had, in fact, evaded Whalley's vigilant guards, and made his escape. The effect of the reading of this letter in the House of Commons may easily be imagined. It was a scene which must have transcended, in the profound sensation it produced, all the remarkable scenes that had taken place from the beginning of the struggle.

The discovery of his Majesty's escape was made within half an hour after his departure. The Commissioners and Colonel Whalley, who were in charge of him, wondering that he did not come forth as usual to supper, entered his room and found it empty. Some letters, in his own hand-writing, lay upon the table, amongst them a letter to the Commissioners, to be communicated to Parliament, opening with this striking

sentence—"Liberty being that which in all times hath been, but especially now is, the condition, the aim, and the desire of all men, common reason shows, that Kings, less than any, should endure captivity." The logic is not satisfactory, although it is built upon indisputable premises. Why, this was the thing they were fighting for all along—this liberty for all men. It was a pity that his Majesty never found out its value (and then only in his own case), till he was himself deprived of its enjoyment. It seems that he got off by the river. His cloak was discovered in the gallery in the private way. He had passed out by the back stairs and vault to the water-side.

Orders were instantly dispatched to the ports, all suspected persons were arrested, and it was declared that confiscation of estate and loss of life would be executed upon any man who should conceal his Majesty. These peremptory measures had hardly been thrown into shape, when all trouble and suspense were brought to an end as surprisingly as they had started up, by the surrender of the fugitive. His Majesty had fled to Southampton, accompanied by Sir John Barkley, Mr. Ashburnham, and Mr. Leg, with some vague notion about getting a ship there for France, or for any place out of England; for it appears that his plans were matured only up to the edge of the water, and that he depended upon chance for everything beyond that. Failing in his expectations, he crossed to the Isle of Wight, and on the 13th of November, the second day

after he had left Hampton Court, a hasty letter was received by the House of Commons from Colonel Hammond, the new Governor of Carisbrook Castle, containing the astonishing intelligence that his Majesty was safely lodged under that hospitable roof. "This morning," says Colonel Hammond, "as I was on the way, passing from Carisbrook Castle to Newport, Mr. Ashburnham and Sir John Barkley overtook me; and, after a short discourse, told me that the King was near, and that he would be with me that night; that he was come from Hampton Court upon information that there were some intended to destroy his person, and that he could not with safety continue any longer there; and that finding his case thus, chose rather to put himself in my hands, being a member of the army; whom, he saith, he would not have left, could he have had security to his person, than to go to any other place. Being herewith exceedingly surprised, at present I know not what course to take." But, for all his surprise, he went straightforward to his duty. The King had not yet left Southampton, and Hammond at once crossed over to secure him. "Hereupon," he continues, "I went immediately with them over the water, taking Captain Basket, the captain of Cowes Castle, with me, and found the King near the water-side; and finding myself no way able to secure him there, I chose, he desiring it, to bring him over into this island, where he now is. My endeavours, as for my life," he adds, "shall be to preserve and secure his person." The announcement of this

piece of intelligence in the House of Commons produced a "sensation," second only to that which followed the reading of Cromwell's midnight communication.

Colonel Hammond, in whose custody the King was thus unexpectedly deposited, had entered upon his office of Governor of Carisbrook Castle only so recently as the middle of September. He had scarcely had time to make himself acquainted with the *carte du pays*, still less to acquire personal influence amongst the inhabitants. The greater reason, therefore, for strict *surveillance* in this case. Having made such provisions as the circumstances demanded, such as issuing an order that no person should be allowed to leave the island without a pass, or to land without being brought before him and examined, he convened a meeting of the gentry, and procured their co-operation in his measures for preserving his Majesty's person, and ensuring obedience to the authority of Parliament.

Hammond had just been nominated, by a vote of both Houses, upon the Committee for drawing up a new set of propositions to be submitted to his Majesty, when the sudden flight from Hampton arrested all further proceedings in the way of negociation. He was well qualified, from his knowledge of the views of Parliament, and his zeal in their service, to discharge with discretion and firmness the responsible trust which had so suddenly devolved upon him. He had distinguished himself through the war, especially in the storming party at Bristol, where he served with his uncle, Thomas

Hammond, a Lieutenant-General in the service, and strenuous on the side of the army. Some three years before the present date, he challenged a brother officer for giving him the "lie," and killed him in a duel; but was acquitted upon trial in consideration of the greatness of the provocation. Hammond was a Chertsey man, descended from a physician who practised there before Cowley (who was about the same age as Hammond) and Dean Sprat conferred their celebrity on the Porch House. One of Hammond's uncles was as staunch a loyalist as the poet, and while Robert and his uncle Thomas, the Lieutenant-General, were engaged in the ranks of the Parliament, uncle William, the divine, enjoyed the intimate confidence of his Majesty in the capacity of one of his private chaplains. Thus it is that civil war invades the sanctuary of domestic life, and disperses its closest relations to the winds.

Colonel Hammond acquitted himself so skilfully and graciously of his disagreeable task, that he was constantly engrossed in conversation with the King, who expressed great pleasure in his society. His position was awkward —although the path of duty in the most embarrassing positions is always clear. The King had thrown himself upon his protection, and his honour was engaged for his safety. The difficulty on this point was brought to issue when the Parliament sent down warrants for the apprehension of the three gentlemen who had accompanied the King. Hammond demurred and refused. The King declared that if these gentlemen were to be

punished for what they had done, he must expect the same himself. "Further, give me leave to add," said Hammond, in a letter to the Parliament, "if so unworthy a servant of your lordships as I am, and that which concerns my honour, were at all worthy of your consideration, whether it would not much reflect upon me in case these gentlemen should be thus removed from hence. The King and themselves have freely thrown themselves upon me for safety, upon confidence, as they please to say, of my honour and honesty, and the satisfaction they expect it would have given the Parliament, the King being necessitated to remove." Such considerations might be worth thinking of, or not; but having discharged his honour of this chivalric remonstrance, Hammond closed by placing his allegiance at the free disposal of Parliament. "Whatever is commanded by authority, especially that of the Parliament, though never so contrary to my sense or honour, shall never be disobeyed."

The King, feeling himself now secure, wrote a long statement to Parliament, presenting the basis of a personal treaty. Parliament declined the treaty in this shape, and drew up other propositions in the form of four bills, sending Commissioners down with them to the Isle of Wight. The result was, as usual, unsatisfactory. The King would do nothing explicit or decisive, and the Commissioners went back, much humiliated and discomfited by their Fools' Errand. Before they left Carisbrook, intelligence reached Sir Thomas Fairfax that a

design was on foot to carry off the King, and he immediately ordered Hammond to keep a strict guard on his person, at the same time apprising Parliament of the information he had received. The design broke out exactly in the place and at the moment anticipated. Just as the Commissioners had taken leave, a drum was beat up at Newport, loud cries "For God and King Charles!" filled the air, and the streets were crowded with rioters. The object was to seize the Castle, and take away the King. But Hammond was prepared, and dispersing the mob, lodged the ringleaders in safe custody. All delicacy was now at an end. Ashburnham and the rest of the King's party, including his Majesty's private chaplains and servants, were dismissed, and sent out of the Island; the guards were strengthened; and the fugitive King found himself on the last day of the year 1647 a prisoner in Carisbrook.

END OF VOL. I.

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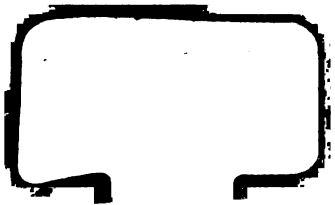
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